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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS.

ABRIDGED FROM THE WRITINGS OF JOHN GOUGH, WILLIAM SEWELL, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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The Publishers think it necessary to inform the reader, that the following sheets contain the substance of John Gough's History, and some parts, not noticed by him, from William Sewell, in nearly their own words.

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HISTORY

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PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

CHAP. I.

FROM THEIR RISE TO THE YEAR 1653.

IT is juſtly to be eſteemed a ſignal favour, demanding the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of theſe nations, that Providence was pleaſed to rend the veil of ſuperſtition, diſperſe the cloud of papal darkneſs, and cauſe the morning of goſpel light to dawn upon them; and thoſe pious worthies, who, by the purity of their manners, doctrine, and faithfulneſs to death in teſtimony to the truth, were the principal inſtruments of bringing about the reformation, are juſtly entitled to honourable eſteem, and doubtleſs enjoy their reward.

Though the reformation in ſome degree diminiſhed both the power and property of the prieſthood, yet it left them more than enough of both to anſwer the end of a perfect reform, or to redreſs all the grievances complained of under the former hierarchy. It left them titles of diſtinction unheard of in the primitive church, ſuch as archbiſhops, deans, archdeacons. It left in poſſeſſion of the ſuperior orders not only the title of lords of the realm, but the power and honours appendant to that high rank, and allotments of lands ſufficient to ſupport the

ſtate and dignity of that ſtation, which, however conſiſtent with human policy, appear to be irreconcileable to the precepts of Chriſt and his apoſtles. See Matt. xx. 25, 26. Titus, i. 7, 8. 1 Peter, v. 2, 3.

The veſting in the biſhops ſuch a portion of honour, power, and property, had no tendency to advance reformation; bearing too near a reſemblance to thoſe badges of diſtinction borne by thoſe of the church of Rome, it was thought by many a reſuming of the ſpirit and principles of the former hierarchy, and defeating the ends of ſeparating from that church.

For though many reſpectable characters have adorned the bench of biſhops at and ſince the reformation, yet it is manifeſt that the honours and emoluments of the office have proved a tempting bait to too many, whereby they have been drawn into negligence of their paſtoral charge, to frequent courts, hunt after preferment, and pay more attention to their ſecular, than their ſpiritual calling.

The power, alſo, left in their hands, proved a temptation to revive the ſpirit of perſecution amongſt them; ſoon forgetting the hardſhips their predeceſſors had undergone, during the intolerancy of the laſt reign, from the Romiſh biſhops; the Proteſtant biſhops were hardly firmly ſeated in their ſtalls, before they exerted their endeavours to force an uniformity, which comprehended a univerſal aſſent to the propriety of their prerogatives, and a ſubmiſſion to their power and decrees in matters eccleſiaſtical, by impriſonments, confiſcations, baniſhment, and (in ſome inſtances) of death. In their legiſlative capacity they were too generally zealous promoters of penal laws againſt non-conformiſts, and in their official and executive capacity ſtrenuous aiders and abettors in carrying them rigorouſly into execution.

The reſervation of tithes for the maintenance of the prieſts is another of the reliques of the apoſta-

tized

tized church; and the grounds on which they were claimed, the return of Goſpel light clearly manifeſted to be merely nugatory, and that they could not be retained in any reformation reverting to primitive purity, as no veſtige of ſuch a demand could be derived from the new teſtament, or the original practice of the Chriſtian church.

Sundry other articles of the former ſuperſtition were reformed but partially: oſtentatious ſplendor and human contrivance in worſhip, and in the decoration of temples; the clerical veſtments, pluralities, and non-reſidence of the clergy, appear plain inſtances of a deviation from the ſimplicity, diſintereſtedneſs, and conſcientious concern for the propagation of pure religion, conſpicuous in the primitive age of Chriſtianity; and the latter, of a ſpirit of avarice approaching to injuſtice.

William Penn*, who lived near thoſe times, ſays, "The laſt age did ſet ſome ſteps towards reformation, both as to *doctrine*, *worſhip*, and *practice*; but *practice* quickly failed, for wickedneſs flowed in a little time, as well among the *profeſſors* of the *reformation* as thoſe they reformed from; ſo that by the fruits of converſation they were not to be diſtinguiſhed. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themſelves, betook themſelves very early to *earthly policy* and *power*, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with *ſpiritual weapons*; which I have often thought has been one of the greateſt reaſons the reformation made no better progreſs as to the *life* and *ſoul* of *religion*. For whilſt the reformers were lowly and ſpiritually-minded, and truſted in GOD, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and conſulted not with fleſh and blood, nor ſought deliverance in their own

* Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers.

way, there were daily added to the church ſuch as one might reaſonably ſay, ſhould be ſaved; for they were not ſo careful to be ſafe from perſecution as to be faithful and inoffenſive under it; being more concerned to ſpread the truth, by their faith and patience in *tribulation*, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted thoſe ſufferings upon them. And it will be well if the Lord ſuffer them not to fall by the very ſame way they took to ſtand.

" In *doctrine* they were in ſome things ſhort; in other things, to avoid one extreme they ran into another; and for *worſhip*, there was for the generality, more of *man* in it than of GOD. They owned the *ſpirit*, *inſpiration*, and *revelation* indeed, and grounded their ſeparation and reformation upon the ſenſe and underſtanding they received from it, in the reading of the ſcriptures of truth. And this was their plea; the *ſcripture* is the *text*, the *ſpirit* the *interpreter*, and *that* to every one *for himſelf*. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority and worldly greatneſs in their miniſters, eſpecially in this kingdom, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and ſome parts of *Germany*. GOD was therefore pleaſed in *England* to ſhift us from veſſel to veſſel, and the next remove *humbled* the miniſtry, ſo that they were more ſtrict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the LORD'S DAY, and catechiſing of children and ſervants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public. But even as theſe grew into power, they were not only for *whipping* ſome out, but others into, the temple; and they appeared *rigid in their ſpirits* rather than ſevere in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people that were yet more retired and ſelect.

" They

" They would not *communicate* at large or in common with others, but formed churches among themſelves of ſuch as could give ſome account of their converſion, at leaſt of very promiſing experiences of the work of GOD's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowſhip they kept together. Theſe people were ſomewhat of a ſofter temper, and ſeemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodneſs, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and puniſhments, by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

" They alſo allowed *greater liberty* to prophecy than thoſe before them, for they admitted any member to ſpeak or pray as well as their paſtor, whom they always choſe, and not the civil magiſtrate. If ſuch found any thing preſſing upon them *to either duty*, even without the *diſtinction of clergy* or *laity*, perſons of any trade had the liberty, be it ever ſo low and mechanical. But alas! even theſe people ſuffered great loſs, for taſting of *worldly empire*, and the *favour of princes*, and the *gain* that enſued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and miniſtry, and maintenance too, ſome of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parſonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles; and, which was yet worſe, turned, ſome of them, *abſolute perſecutors of other men for* GOD's *ſake*, that but ſo lately came themſelves out of the furnace, which drove many a ſtep farther, and that was into the water: *Another baptiſm*, as believing they were not *ſcripturally baptized*, and hoping to find that preſence and power of GOD in ſubmitting to this watery ordinance, which they deſired and wanted.

" Theſe people alſo made profeſſion of *neglecting*,

ing, if not *renouncing* and *cenſuring*, not only the *neceſſity*, but *uſe* of all *human learning*, as to the *miniſtry*, and all other qualifications to it, beſides the *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit* of GOD, and thoſe natural and common to men. And for a time they ſeemed, like *John* of old, *a burning and a ſhining light to other ſocieties*.

" They were very diligent, plain, and ſerious, ſtrong in ſcripture and bold in profeſſion, bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by proved their ſnare, for worldly power ſpoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more. And they reſted alſo too much upon their watery diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, which was *his baptiſm, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly*, and not in part only, *purge his floor, and take away the droſs and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold*. Withal they grew high, rough, and ſelf-righteous, oppoſing farther attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty, inſomuch that many left them, and all viſible churches and ſocieties, and wandered up and down, as *ſheep* without a *ſhepherd*.

" Theſe people were called *Seekers* by ſome, and the *Family of Love* by others; becauſe, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they ſometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times paſt they were accuſtomed to do, but waited together in *ſilence*, and as any thing roſe in any one of their minds that they thought ſavoured of a *divine ſpring*, they ſometimes ſpoke. But ſo it was, that ſome of them not keeping in *humility* and in the fear of GOD, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted *above meaſure*; and for want of ſtaying

ing their minds in an humble dependance upon him that opened their underſtandings to ſee *great things* in his *law*, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with thoſe divine openings, brought forth a monſtrous birth to the ſcandal of thoſe that feared GOD.

"From their extravagant diſcourſes and practices, they obtained the name of *Ranters*; for they interpreted CHRIST's fulfilling of the law for us to be a diſcharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required of us, inſtead of the condemnation of the law for ſins paſt, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no ſin to do that which before it was a ſin to commit, the ſlaviſh fear of the law being taken off by CHRIST; and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and perſuaſion that it was ſo, inſomuch that divers fell into groſs and enormous practices, pretending in excuſe thereof, that they could, *without evil*, commit the ſame act which was ſin in another to do."

Their extravagancies and immoralities ſhocking the ſincere ſeekers of pure religion amongſt them, they relinquiſhed a community fallen into manifeſt diſorder, to ſearch after it elſewhere; and many of other ſocieties alſo, feeling a deſire after a greater degree of purity and peace of mind than they had yet met with, were at a loſs to know where to find it, or whom to apply to for direction.

About this time Providence ſaw meet to raiſe up an inſtrument to gather a people from thoſe who were diſſatisfied with theſe different profeſſions, and were looking for the revelation of the Goſpel in greater purity, as well as many who were not. A man unacquainted with the doctrine of the ſchools, and unattached to any ſyſtem, but endued with a power which ſchools cannot convey, ſpeaking the language of experience, and of a heart verſed in the work of ſanctification. The tenor of his doctrine,

when he found himself concerned to inſtruct others, was to wean men from ſyſtems, ceremonies, and the outſide of religion in every form, and to lead them to an acquaintance with themſelves, by a moſt ſolicitous attention to what paſſed in their own minds; to direct them to a principle in their own hearts, which if duly attended to, would introduce rectitude of mind, ſimplicity of manners, a life and converſation adorned with every chriſtian virtue, and peace, the effect of righteouſneſs, which they were looking for. Drawing his doctrine from the pure ſource of religious truth, the New Teſtament, and the convictions of his own mind, abſtracted from the comments of men, he aſſerted the freedom of man, in the liberty of the Goſpel, againſt the tyranny of cuſtom, the combined powers of perſecution, contempt, and ridicule. Unſhaken and undiſmayed, he perſevered in diſſeminating principles and practices conducive to the preſent and everlaſting well-being of mankind with honeſty, ſimplicity, and ſucceſs. It ſeems proper, therefore, with an account of this extraordinary character, who was the firſt preacher of the principles of the ſociety, afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the contemptuous appellation of Quakers, and the firſt perſon who received that name, to open the hiſtory of this people.

GEORGE FOX was born at Drayton in the Clay, in Leiceſterſhire, in 1624, of parents not conſiderable for their rank, but reſpectable for piety and integrity; who gave him a ſober, though not a learned, education, in the way and worſhip of the national church. His mother obſerving the bent of his diſpoſition to ſerioufneſs, treated him with particular tenderneſs, being careful not to diſcourage his virtuous inclinations, feeling much ſatisfaction in theſe early indications of a religious turn of mind.

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The gravity of his demeanour ſuggeſted to ſome of his relations a deſire that he might be educated for the prieſthood; but whether the circumſtances or inclinations of his parents prevented, he was put apprentice to a ſhoe-maker, by whom he was chiefly employed in keeping ſheep: an employment well ſuited to the temper of his mind, both for its innocence and ſolitude.

At the expiration of his apprenticeſhip he returned home. Obſerving in the greater number of thoſe who were high in profeſſion of religion, a latitude in their conduct, an indulgence in ſenſual gratifications, or an attachment to temporal purſuits, to a degree irreconcileable with the Chriſtian religion, it occaſioned him ſo great an anxiety of heart, that he could not, ſometimes, take his natural reſt; but ſpent his nights in watchings and prayer. Under his ſolicitude, he received this internal admonition, "Thou ſeeſt how the young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou muſt forſake all, both young and old, and be as a ſtranger unto all."

This, which he underſtood to be a divine command, determined him to leave his relations and acquaintance; to detach himſelf, as much as poſſible from company, for fear of being drawn into unwatchfulneſs. Yet in his moving about (for he tarried not long in any place) he ſought out the moſt religious people to converſe with, as he felt freedom, and ſojourned amongſt them. In theſe his travels, he was under great anguiſh of mind, whereby he was brought to a narrow ſcrutiny into his paſt life; and blameleſs as it ſeems to have been, his anxiety increaſed nigh to deſpondency (at times.) In this ſtate a doubt ariſing in his mind of the rectitude of his conduct in leaving his relations, he returned home; yet here feeling little mitigation of his ſorrows, he had recourſe to ſeveral prieſts, who

were in repute for religious experience, to conſult them, for counſel and advice; but found no real benefit, they not being able to reach his ſtate, or adminiſter the relief he wanted.

Finding them phyſicians of no value, he was diſcouraged from a dependence upon them. And ſhortly after, he declined the attendance of the public worſhip, to hear ſermons unavailable to the ſtate of his ſoul, and to join in prayers and ſinging not expreſſive of its feelings; eſteeming it not worſhip, but offenſive to the divine being. He therefore turned his views toward the Diſſenters, as apprehending more tenderneſs and religious experience among them: yet he found not that ſatisfaction which he deſired: wherefore withdrawing from communion with all outward ſocieties, he retired into ſolitary places, frequently with his Bible, and employed himſelf in reading and meditation there.

For the ſpace of three or four years he lived in privacy and ſolitude; during which time, through a variety of probations, he grew in religious experience. By a ſtrict attention, and ready obedience to the teacher nigh at hand, the word in the heart, and in the mouth, to be heard and obeyed, he was endued with intellectual diſcernment, to diſtinguiſh between the eſſential and external part of religion, between the ſpirit and the letter; and felt it his duty publicly to recommend to mankind an attention to the ſame internal monitor.

In 1647, he conceived it his duty to leave his outward habitation a ſecond time, and travel abroad, to ſeek out the moſt ſerious people to aſſociate with. Paſſing through part of his native county and Derbyſhire, he came into Nottinghamſhire; and wherever he met with honeſt-hearted people, would enter into conferences with them, as freedom and opportunity invited for mutual improvement; but he chiefly recommended ſilence, and abſtinence

nence from ſelf-performances, in order to turn the attention of men more ſteadfaſtly to the light of Chriſt within them; and to wait in patience to feel the power of this divine principle animate them to a heavenly temper, always exemplifying the doctrine he taught in his own practice.

From the reformation to this time, a ſpirit of religious enquiry had been kept alive, even by the ſeverities practiſed to quaſh it: the civil wars, having ſtripped numbers of much of their outward ſubſtance, and leaving the remaining part at the diſpoſal of ſuperior force, had an effect to wean men's affections inſenſibly from poſſeſſions of ſo percarious a tenure: and all, who could think ſeriouſly, were naturally led to look for ſomething more ſtable.

It was certainly an æra when religious profeſſion and regularity of manners were in general eſtimation; and amidſt this general profeſſion, we muſt preſume many were truly conſcientious in their diſſent from eſtabliſhed forms, and in their enquiry after a better way. But in theſe times of turbulence, when the reins of civil and eccleſiaſtical authority were ſhifting from hand to hand, ſects and opinions multiplying, perplexed many of the ſincere enquirers in their ſearch of truth: being uncertain what guide to follow, or what ſociety to aſſociate with; and therefore others, beſide G. Fox, deſerted theſe uncertain teachers, and in retirement conſulted the Scriptures, and the oracle in their own breaſts, for inſtruction in the way of duty; or met in ſelect companies for mutual edification. Amongſt ſuch, G. Fox found an open reception for his doctrine.

His miniſterial labours were at firſt exerciſed in the way of conference with ſuch well-diſpoſed people as he met with, paſſing along from place to place. He durſt not ſtay long in any particular place, for fear of contracting acquaintance which

were in repute for religious experience, to conſult them, for counſel and advice; but found no real benefit, they not being able to reach his ſtate, or adminiſter the relief he wanted.

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might not be profitable, whereby his mind might be retarded as to advancement in religious experience. But as he went northward as far as Duckenfield and Mancheſter, meeting with ſome religious enquirers, he made ſome ſtay, and had meetings amongſt them; whereby there were ſome convinced of the truth of his doctrine.

This is the firſt inſtance we have of his public miniſtry, which, conſiſted in a few weighty expreſſions, attended with a reaching power, greatly affecting the hearts of his auditory.

At no great diſtance from this time, another opportunity occurred for his public miniſtry: The Baptiſts had appointed a meeting at Broughton in Leiceſterſhire, with ſome perſons who had ſeparated from them. The report thereof drew abundance of people together, even from other counties, and G. Fox among others; but from whatever cauſe it happened, but few of the Baptiſts attended. George made uſe of the opportunity to inculcate the doctrines he had received as truth upon the minds of the aſſembly. Several by his preaching, and others by his reaſoning with them, were convinced of the truth he publiſhed.

Near the cloſe of this year (O. S.) the Independents and Republicans accompliſhed their purpoſe in bringing the king to the block, and ſeating themſelves at the helm of government. Their profeſſed principles being in favour of civil and religious liberty, the public places of worſhip ſeem, for a ſeaſon, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to diſputation between the teachers or members of various ſects: this furniſhed G. Fox and others with opportunities of divulging their opinions, and accordingly we find him frequently availing himſelf thereof.

Private

Private houſes alſo were occaſionally open to religious conference, and as the principal bent of his mind was, to do good to others, or reap ſpiritual advantage to himelf, he was zealous to attend meetings of this kind, in his native county of Leiceſterſhire and places adjacent. Once at a meeting of ſundry prieſts and profeſſors at a juſtice's houſe, and twice at Mansfield, in which he modeſtly offered his ſentiments on the ſubject of diſquiſition, which were generally well received. At the firſt meeting at Mansfield, he was moved to pray. The effect of his prayer on the audience, encouraged another profeſſor preſent to pray alſo; but his prayer, inſtead of edifying, brought deadneſs over the aſſembly, which diſpleaſing them, he deſired George to pray again, but he could not pray in man's will.

Soon after this, hearing of a meeting appointed at Leiceſter, wherein it was reported, that Preſbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts and Epiſcopalians were engaged, he went thither, the meeting being held in the public worſhip-houſe, opened a general admiſſion; and liberty being granted for any to ſpeak, after ſome time, a woman preſent put this queſtion; *What birth was that which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, A being born again of incorruptible ſeed, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever?* The prieſt replied, I ſuffer not a woman to ſpeak in the *church*; which drew from George an enquiry what he underſtood the church to be: for reply, the prieſt returning the queſtion, George expreſſed his idea thereof, "That it was neither a building of lime and ſtones, nor a mixed multitude aſſembled together; but the pillar and ground of truth, a ſpiritual building compoſed of living ſtones, a ſpiritual houſehold, of which Chriſt was the head." This, he writes, ſet them all on fire, and the diſpute was marred.

When the meeting was broken up, he retired to his

his inn, whither he was followed by ſeveral prieſts and profeſſors, with whom he diſputed the ſubject afreſh, and maintained his opinion of the true church, and the true head thereof. Several were convinced, and amongſt them the woman who put the queſtion, and her family.

Travelling about in the central parts of the nation, and now ſtaying more or leſs in a place as he found his mind engaged, his preaching was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs: the convincing authority attending his miniſtry, daily increaſing the number of proſelytes: ſo that meetings begun to be ſettled in thoſe parts in the courſe of this year, 1648.

His endeavours to propagate true religion were not confined to public or private meetings; but exerted in other places, as occaſion offered; particularly in courts of judicature, to admoniſh to juſtice, and caution againſt oppreſſion: in markets, to recommend fair dealing, and to bear his teſtimony againſt fraud, and deceitful merchandiſe: at public houſes of entertainment, to warn againſt promoting intemperance, by ſupplying their gueſts with more liquor than would do them good: at ſchools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and ſervants in the fear of their Maker; to teſtify againſt vain ſports, plays and ſhows, as tending to draw people into vanity, and from that ſtate of attentive conſideration, wherein our ſalvation is to be wrought out.

It is not improbable but this uncommon manner of intervention in places unuſual might expoſe him to the deriſion of ſome, and reſentment of others; but he met not as yet with any inſtance of ill uſage in his perſon. Upon his appearing abroad in his more public capacity, the clear impreſſion fixed in his mind of the purity of the Chriſtian religion, and the too general defection of the greater part of profeſſors

profeſſors therefrom, produced in him cautiouſneſs to take no man for his copy; but ſingly purſuing what the light in his own conſcience diſcovered to be right, he was led into a manner of conduct in many reſpects ſingular, but, properly conſidered, not abſurd; though contradictory to faſhion, yet not contrary to reaſon and propriety. Viewing the cuſtomary modes of ſalutation, in uncovering the head and bowing the body, as owing their origin to pride on one hand, and folly or artifice on the other, introducing marks of homage to men, which they had no juſt claim to, and which neither reaſon nor religion ratified, he eſteemed it his duty to bear a public teſtimony againſt theſe cuſtoms, by declining compliance therewith. Being, by the light of the Goſpel, inſtructed that his words ſhould be few; conformable to ſincerity; void of flattery and deceit, he felt himſelf circumſcribed from adopting the prevailing deviation from the original ſimplicity of language in uſing YOU to a ſingle perſon, or giving cuſtomary compliments, or flattering titles; and accordingly, addreſſed individuals of every rank with the ſingular appellation of *thou* or *thee*, without reſpect of perſons. This manner of addreſs begat general diſguſt, and expoſed him and his fellow-believers to much abuſe, being often beaten, ſtoned, impriſoned, and fined, for no other reaſon but declining to take off their hats, and to give the cuſtomary titles of adulation to men.

Their unfaſhionable demeanour was not the ſole cauſe of their ſevere treatment; their doctrine, circumſpect converſation, plain-dealing, and honeſt teſtimonies againſt religion without righteouſneſs, carrying in them ſtrong reproof to hypocriſy and lifeleſs profeſſion, were little leſs offenſive to many formal profeſſors of the age.

But

But that which created them the greateſt number of enemies, was their opinion concerning Goſpel miniſtry. They taught that the Goſpel was free; that the miniſter ought either to miniſter, becauſe it was his indiſpenſable duty, or omit taking the charge upon him; that no perſon ought to teach for hire, but that of the ability which God gave, they ought to give freely to the people. A doctrine, which, touching the teachers of every other denomination in a tender part, their intereſt raiſed a hoſt of foes. The prieſts of every claſs, however at variance among themſelves, generally united in exertions againſt theſe hated reformers; to impreſs upon the magiſtrates and people the moſt unfavourable opinion of the doctrine and conduct of thoſe men, who, in the face of the world, had broached opinions in their view ſo pernicious. Biaſed by prejudice, and blinded by paſſion, their repreſentations of this people tranſgreſſed the bounds of candour and truth; the pulpits were converted into vehicles of calumny; every ridiculous ſtory was circulated to their diſadvantage; and pains taken to repreſent them, not what they were, but what their adverſaries would have them thought to be. The preſs, ſeconding the efforts of the pulpit, ſpread undeſerved reproach. Men of leiſure and abilities, without giving themſelves time to conſider this people and their doctrines attentively, joined in the common cauſe againſt them. This confederacy could vilify their reputation; abuſe their perſons; plunder, impriſon and perſecute them: but could neither overſet their confidence in divine ſupport, nor prevent the increaſe of their numbers, till they became a conſiderable body, not more remarkable for the ſingularities of their profeſſion, than for the uniform practice of virtue, and the ſeverity of their ſufferings for the teſtimony of a good conſcience

ſcience through three ſucceſſive revolutions of government.

G. Fox's firſt impriſonment was in the courſe of the year 1648 at Nottingham: coming thither on a firſt day of the week, under a perſuaſion of duty, he went to the public worſhip, and the prieſt taking for his text theſe words of the apoſtle Peter, "We have a more ſure word of prophecy, &c." which he expounded to be the ſcriptures, by which all doctrines were to be tried. G. Fox ſignified that this *ſure word* of prophecy was not the ſcriptures, but the Holy Spirit, by which holy men gave forth the Scriptures, whereby (as the ſureſt interpreter of them) opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried: for it led men into all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, yet reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, and rejected Chriſt, the bright morning ſtar, perſecuted him and his apoſtles, while they pretended to try their doctrine by the Scriptures; but erred in judgment, becauſe they tried them without the Holy Ghoſt. Hereupon the officers ſeized him, and took him to priſon, putting him into a place ſo filthy, that the ſmell thereof was grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and after examination, recommitted. One of the magiſtrates, John Reckleſs, ſheriff, being, with his wife and family, much affected with George's doctrine, after ſome time removed him to his own houſe: during his reſidence here, he had meetings, which ſome perſons of condition attended, and the Lord's power appeared eminently among them, whereby a great change was effected in the ſheriff, inſomuch that he and ſeveral others being excited by a ſenſe of duty to exhort both the people and magiſtrates to repentance, the latter were ſo provoked, that they cauſed G. Fox to be removed back to the common priſon, where he lay till the aſſizes; yet was not then brought to his trial, for though he

was

was ordered to be taken before the judge, the officer was ſo dilatory, that the court was broken up before he got thither; yet they ordered him into the common jail, and detained him there ſome time longer.

In moſt places whither he came, bonds or afflictions abode him. At Mansfield Woodhouſe, ſpeaking to the prieſt and congregation in their public place of worſhip, the people aſſaulted him, and beat him cruelly with their hands, Bibles, and ſticks. After they had thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the ſtocks, where he ſat ſome hours; and then they took him before a magiſtrate, who ſeeing how groſsly he had been abuſed, after much threatening, ſet him at liberty. But ſtill the multitude, inſatiate in abuſe, ſtoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, by reaſon of their ill uſage, for no other cauſe but exhorting them for their good. With difficulty he reached the diſtance of about a mile from the town, where he met with ſome people humane enough to adminiſter cordials for his eaſe, being inwardly bruiſed. At Market Boſworth he was alſo ſtoned out of the town: and at Cheſterfield detained in cuſtody till late at night, and then put out of the town by officers and watchmen, and left in the dark to provide for himſelf as well as he could. In the midſt of his ſufferings he had the conſolation of apprehending himſelf in the way of his duty, and of finding that in each place ſome were convinced, and others confirmed in the truth by his miniſtry.

At the firſt appearance of this people, ſeveral others, as well as G. Fox, thought it their duty to go to the public places of worſhip, to declare the burden of the word on their minds; moſtly (though not always) waiting till their worſhip was ended, and then delivering, or attempting to deliver, their ſentiments in quietneſs, and in as few words as poſſible, for which they were often treated with violence and

and to palliate ſuch treatment, irreconcileable to the profeſſed purity of this period, or to the good order of civil ſociety, great pains have been taken to deſcribe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may ſeem to deſerve cenſure. This people were not ſingle, at that time, in their ſentiments concerning the Goſpel-liberty of propheſying: but the Independents alſo, as well as the Baptiſts, adopted the opinion, that the ordained miniſters had not, by any order obſerved amongſt the primitive Chriſtians, an excluſſve right of ſpeaking in the church, but that all, properly gifted, might ſpeak one by one. It had been during the time of the civil war, and ſtill continued to be no unuſual practice for laymen, ſoldiers, and others to ſpeak or preach in the public places of worſhip and elſewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers.

By this it appears evident, that a participation of the laity in miniſterial offices was not only allowed, but patronized, by ſome of the leading men of that time.

From Cheſterfield G. Fox directed his courſe to Derby, where he was entertained at a doctor's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced. As he was walking in his chamber, he heard the bell ring: upon enquiring into the cauſe, he was informed that there was to be a lecture there that day, at which many officers of the army and preachers were to be preſent. George went to this lecture, and after it was finiſhed, ſpoke what was on his mind, and they heard him without moleſtation; but when he had done, an officer came to him, and taking him by the hand, told him he muſt go before the magiſtrates. Being brought before them about the firſt hour afternoon, they kept the day till the ninth, in examination and conſultation about him, and then committed him and another to the houſe of correction.

G. Fox

G. Fox was now prevented from travelling, but his mind did not ſuffer him to reſt unemployed; for, during his confinement, he was much exerciſed in writing, particularly to the prieſts and magiſtrates of Derby. To the former, that if they had received the Goſpel freely, they ſhould miniſter it freely, without money or without price. That if they maintained the Scripture to be their rule, they ought to manifeſt that it was ſo, not by words only, but by the conformity of their lives to its doctrines. To the magiſtrates, repeatedly pointing out the injuſtice of perſecution and oppreſſion.

Neither was he unmindful of his principal concern, the inſtruction and confirmation of thoſe who had been convinced by his miniſtry. He wrote a paper to be ſpread abroad amongſt his friends and other well-diſpoſed people.

It was during his impriſonment here, 1650, that bidding Gervas Bennet (one of the juſtices who committed him) and thoſe in company with him, *tremble at the word of the Lord*; Bennet, turning this expreſſion into a ſubject of ridicule, in deriſion gave G. Fox and his friends the appellation of Quakers, by which name this people have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed.

His relations, uneaſy at his impriſonment, applied to the juſtices for his releaſe upon bail; whereupon he was brought before them, but refuſed his conſent, becauſe he thought the conditions (which were, that he ſhould be of good behaviour, and come no more thither to cry againſt the prieſts) in one part, a groundleſs impeachment of his character; and in the other, a reſtraint from duty. Juſtice Bennet roſe up in a rage, and as George was kneeling down to pray for him, fell furiouſly upon him, and ſtruck him with both his hands, commanding the jailer to take him to priſon; he was accordingly carried back, and there detained.

The keeper, a high profeſſor, was in the num-
er of George's enemies; he watchfully remarked
is words and actions, aſked many frivolous, in-
duous queſtions, in order to draw ſome unguarded
nſwer, to turn to the diſadvantage of his character;
ut George was preſerved in that circumſpection of
onduct, that the jailer could get no advantage
gainſt him this way: and yet it ſeems he ſpoke
ery wickedly of him. For which treatment he
as one day ſo ſmitten in his conſcience, that as G.
ox was walking in his chamber, he heard a mourn-
l voice, upon which he ſtood to liſten, and heard
e jailer give the following relation to his wife:
Wife, I have ſeen the day of judgment, and I
w George there, and I was afraid of him, becauſe
had done him ſo much wrong, and ſpoken ſo
uch againſt him to the miniſters, profeſſors and
ſtices, and in taverns and alehouſes." And
terwards coming to G. Fox, he made the follow-
g acknowledgment: "I have been a lion againſt
u, but now I come like a lamb, and like the
ler that came to *Paul* and *Silas* trembling." The
xt day he went to the juſtices and complained to
em that he and his houſe had been plagued for
eorge's ſake. To which (as the jailer reported)
ervas Bennet replied, that plagues were upon
em for keeping him there: and ſoon after the
ſtices gave him leave to walk a mile, in expecta-
n that he would make uſe of the opportunity to
cape. But they were miſtaken: this man, as
tient in ſuffering for his principles, as he was
alous in propagating them, was too tender of the
putation of the truth he maintained, to give ad-
ntage againſt it to its adverſaries, by obtaining
liberty in a clandeſtine manner: he therefore
nified, if they would aſcertain the extent of a
le, he might ſometimes make uſe of the liberty.
s fellow priſoner, Fretwell, ſoon found means to
ingratiate

ingratiate himſelf with the jailer, and obtained leave to go ſee his mother, and ſo got his liberty: which occaſioned the jailer to remark, "that man was not right, but that George was an honeſt man." The jailer's ſiſter alſo being ſickly, viſiting George in his chamber, was ſo affected with his diſcourſe, as to bear teſtimony concerning him and his friends, "that they were an innocent people, that did harm to none, but did good to all, even to thoſe who hated them."

When the civil war in England was terminated by the death of the late king, and the independent parliament was fixed in the ſeat of government there; Ireland remained to be ſubdued, and the ruling party in Scotland had come to a reſolution to acknowledge Charles II. as their king. The parliament therefore thought it neceſſary to augment their forces, when G. Fox's term of commitment to the houſe of correction was nearly expired; the commiſſioners invited him to accept the office of a captain, and the ſoldiers were deſirous to have him for their commander; for which purpoſe, being brought before the commiſſioners, in the market place, they there made him the offer, aſking him if he would not take up arms for the commonwealth againſt Charles Stuart. He told them, he knew from whence all wars did ariſe, even from the luſts, and that he lived in the virtue of that power that took away the occaſion of war. Preſſing him more earneſtly to accept of their offer, which they ſaid was made out of regard to his virtue, and he ſtill rejecting their propoſal, their pretended regard quickly gave way to the impetuoſity of their reſentment at his refuſal, and his teſtimony againſt the warring ſpirit under their religious pretenſions. They immediately commanded the jailer to put him into the common jail, without any bed! He was accordingly thruſt amongſt thirty felons, whoſe con-

duct

duct and converſation, were no leſs grievous to him than the filthineſs of the priſon where he was kept nearly ſix months. However, not diſcouraged by the proſpect of the danger he might be expoſed to, he felt himſelf frequently conſtrained to reprove them. Yet it doth not appear that he received any ill uſage from them, and people wondered he was ſo preſerved from harm amongſt ſuch company.

During his confinement, he had occaſion to remark the pernicious effects of keeping priſoners long in jail. He therefore thought it his duty to communicate his obſervations hereon to the judges.

Though few, if any, could be more circumſpect to avoid evil in their own particulars, or more averſe to it in others, yet he was affected for thoſe unhappy wretches who forfeited their liberty and lives to the laws of their country. The compaſſion he felt on that account, particularly for a young woman in priſon, for robbing her maſter, induced him to write to the magiſtrates. Whatever effect his interpoſition might have, the young woman was reprieved at the gallows, and afterwards in priſon repented and believed.

After the battle of Dunbar, King Charles, in expectation of being joined by all his friends, and the malecontents under the preſent government, advanced into the heart of England.

This ſudden invaſion created great alarm, and excited the adherents to the preſent government to zealous exertions in procuring recruits, to repel the invaders; upon this occaſion, Juſtice Bennet ſent a conſtable to preſs G. Fox for a ſoldier; who brought him before the commiſſioners; but he perſiſting in his refuſal, they committed him to cloſe impriſonment, without bail or mainprize; whereupon he again appealed to their feelings, in a letter addreſſed to Col. Barton, and the reſt who were concerned in his commitment.

It

It is not improbable that this letter, together with the innocency of his conduct, made an impreſſion upon them; for, notwithſtanding their former repreſentation of him as a deceiver and blaſphemer, his integrity had ſo far gotten the better of their prejudice, that they ſet him at liberty in the beginning of the winter 1651, after detaining him in priſon near twelve months, ſix months in the houſe of correction, and the reſt of the time in the common priſon.

G. Fox having regained his liberty, purſued his travels, and had meetings in ſeveral places in Nottinghamſhire and Derbyſhire, and thence paſſed into Yorkſhire. Richard Farnſworth, among others, was convinced at Balby: at Wakefield, James Naylor, and William Dewſbury and his wife, with many others, were alſo convinced. Theſe three men became powerful coadjutors to G. Fox. Of theſe, W. Dewſbury had been immediately convinced of the internal principle of light and grace before he ſaw George; but when he met him, he found they were in the unity of the ſame ſpirit, and thereupon gave him the right hand of fellowſhip, and joined him in his miniſterial labours.

Paſſing on to Beverly, he went to the public worſhip-houſe; and after the preacher had done, he exhorted him and the people, directing them to Chriſt their teacher with ſuch an authority as brought an awfulneſs over the aſſembly, and his miniſtry in theſe parts was effectual to the convincement of many, and amongſt them ſome perſons of account: Capt. Purſloe and Juſtice Hotham were in the number of his friends, and tho' it doth not appear that they openly joined him in profeſſion, yet their favour was conducive to protect him from inſult and abuſe, to which in ſome other places he had been expoſed.

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In the afternoon he went to another worſhip-houſe about two miles from Beverly, where, after the preacher had done, he ſpoke largely. The people were ſo much affected, that they requeſted him to favour them with another opportunity of hearing him; but he directed them to a better inſtructor that would abide with them, the ſpirit of Chriſt in their own hearts, and ſo paſſed away.

Continuing in the proſecution of his travels, he met with various ſucceſs. Paſſing northward through moſt parts of Yorkſhire, he met with little or no reſtraint from the magiſtrates; but received much abuſe from the multitude in many places. He alſo repeatedly experienced the want of hoſpitality in theſe parts, being refuſed entertainment or lodging at the inns, though he offered to pay; whereby he was obliged ſeveral times to take up his lodging in the open air, or under ſuch ſhelter as he could meet with in the fields; under theſe ſufferings he manifeſted the meek and forgiving temper of a Chriſtian; as at Titchill, where the clerk ſtruck him ſo violently with a Bible in the public worſhip-houſe, as to make his face run down with blood, where, after this the people thruſt him out, threw him down, and dragged him along the ſtreets. When he got up, covered with blood and dirt, he endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their doings, by repreſenting to them how inconſiſtent their conduct was, and how they diſhonoured Chriſtianity thereby. Some moderate juſtices, who had heard how he had been abuſed, coming to examine into this riot, he would not appear as an accuſer againſt any; but freely forgave them all. This, doubtleſs, contributed to give ſucceſs to his plain but prevailing miniſtry.

Coming to Sedbergh on a fair day, and preaching firſt in the fair, and afterwards retiring into the grave-yard, abundance of people flocked after him,

when he preached for a conſiderable time. Several prieſts were preſent, yet none of them made the leaſt oppoſition to his doctrine; but Francis Howgill, an Independent preacher, was ſo affected therewith, as well as the powerful manner of delivering it, as to acknowledge, "This man ſpeaks with authority, and not as the ſcribes." Many were convinced that day, and amongſt them Capt. Ward.

On the firſt day following, he went to Firbank chapel in Weſtmoreland, where F. Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. About noon, after refreſhing himſelf with a little water from a brook, he ſat down on the top of a rock contiguous to the chapel, in order to hold a meeting there; the people ſeemed ſurpriſed that he did not go into the chapel; but he, eſteeming it part of his miſſion to bring them off from their SUPERSTITIOUS veneration for theſe places, informed them that there was no inherent ſanctity in the ground or building beyond that on which he ſtood. To a large audience he preached for a conſiderable time, and his miniſtry was attended with a convincing power, whereby many, and in particular the teachers of that congregation, became proſelytes to his doctrine; viz. J. Audland and F. Howgill, who gave back the money they had received from the pariſh of Colton in Lancaſhire, for preaching there.

George went from thence to Preſton-Patrick and Kendal, at which places he had meetings to good effect; where large meetings are held to this day. From Kendal he proceeded to Under-barrow, accompanied by ſeveral perſons, with whom he had much reaſoning, eſpecially with Edward Burrough, who became an eminent member of this community, and during his ſhort life, a principal promoter of its cauſe, both in his diſcourſe and writings.

G. Fo

G. Fox next paſſed over to Lancaſhire by Cartmel and Ulverſtone to Swarthmore, the ſeat of Thomas Fell, a Welch judge, who was upon his circuit when G. Fox came to his houſe, being a houſe open for the reception of religious people. Next day there being a lecture at Ulverſton, G. Fox went to it; when he came in, they were ſinging, and after they had finiſhed this part of their ſervice, he deſired liberty to ſpeak, which was granted. He there ſo plainly diſtinguiſhed the eſſential from the profeſſional part of religion, that Judge Fell's wife, Margaret, was effectually reached, ſo that ſhe ſat down in her pew and wept bitterly, crying in her ſpirit, "We are all thieves! we are all thieves! We have taken the ſcripture in words, and know nothing of them in ourſelves." George proceeding in his diſcourſe, and declaring againſt the falſe prophets, who take upon them to explain other men's words, while they were out of the ſpirit of thoſe whoſe expreſſions they pretended to explain, John Sawrey, a juſtice of the peace, ordered him to be taken away; and after ſome time a conſtable executing the order, he continued his exhortation to the people in the grave-yard. In the evening he returned to Judge Fell's, and had an opportunity to preach in the family to that effect, that moſt of them were convinced.

Their converſion made a great noiſe in the country, and raiſed George many enemies, ſeveral of whom met the judge on his return home, and preposſeſſed him with the intelligence, "That a great diſaſter had befallen his family; that the Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; and that he muſt ſend them away, or all the country would be undone." Under the affecting impreſſion of this report, he reached his houſe; nor was the anxiety of his wife ſhort of his; for, being clearly convinced of the truth of the doctrines de-

livered by G. Fox, ſhe thought it her duty to adhere thereto; and yet her affectionate regard for her huſband filling her with reluctance at the thoughts of giving him uneaſineſs, ſhe felt herſelf in a diſtreſsing ſtrait, between the apprehenſion of diſpleaſing her huſband or offending her Maker; but J. Naylor and R. Farnſworth being then in the houſe, at her deſire had a conference with him, in which they conducted themſelves with ſo much prudence as greatly conduced to mitigate his diſpleaſure; and in the evening G. Fox returned, and finding that Judge Fell was prejudiced againſt him, by the miſrepreſentation of the prieſts and profeſſors, and in particular by thoſe of Juſtice Sawrey, he entered into a free diſcuſſion of his principles; anſwered all the judge's objections ſo clearly from Scripture, that he was thoroughly ſatisfied.

The morning after this conference, Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſtone, paid a viſit to the judge, and had much converſation with him, no ways in favour of his new gueſts; but the judge was too clearly convinced by the evening conference with G. Fox, eaſily to receive impreſſions to their prejudice. Inſtead of liſtening to the inſinuations of the prieſt, he ſoon gave proof of his favourable diſpoſition to the Quakers, by an offer of his houſe for a meeting place, in conſequence whereof there was a large meeting the firſt day following, and thenceforward a ſettled meeting continued in that houſe till 1690, when a meeting-houſe was built.

This impreſſion on judge Fell's mind in their favour was very mortifying to thoſe who wiſhed the ſuppreſſion of this riſing ſociety: Juſtice Sawrey and ——— Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſtone, were particularly chagrined, and let no opportunity ſlip of gratifying their reſentment. Soon after, there being a lecture day at Ulverſtone, and Judge Fell being from home, G. Fox went to the worſhip-houſe

on

on that occaſion, and attempted to ſpeak there. Sawrey told him if he would ſpeak according to ſcripture he might; George replied, he ſhould ſpeak according to ſcripture, and prove his doctrine thereby. Then Sawrey inſiſted, in contradiction to his own propoſal, that he ſhould not ſpeak at all; notwithſtanding which, he proceeded to uſe the liberty given him, and the people heard him with ſatisfaction, till Sawrey, incenſed them againſt him, and incited them to abuſe him. By the inſtigation of this man, the place and time of worſhip were converted into a ſcene of riot, for there G. Fox was knocked down and trampled upon in his preſence. At laſt Sawrey took him from the people, and delivered him to the conſtables, with orders to whip him and put him out of the town, which orders having executed in a violent manner, they delivered him over to the multitude, who beat him to that degree, that he fell down ſenſeleſs. After lying a while, he recovered, and the return he made them was an endeavour to bring them to a ſenſe of the inconſiſtency of their conduct, informing them, that this carriage manifeſted the fruits of their prieſt's miniſtry. Returning to Swathmore, he found his friends there humanely employed in dreſſing the wounds of thoſe who had been cut and bruiſed by Lampit's hearers. For though the chief force of their violence had fallen on G. Fox, ſeveral others, not only of thoſe who openly joined in profeſſion with him, but of ſuch alſo as diſcovered a partiality towards them who did, felt the effects of the licenſe given to a mob, diveſted of the reſtraints of law, religion, and humanity.

G. Fox in about two weeks after the abuſe he met with at Ulverſtone, paſſing over to the iſland of Walney in company with J. Naylor, there met with equal or greater abuſe. At Cockan a man ſnapped a piſtol at him, but it would not go off;

and he was no ſooner landed on the iſland than he was aſſaulted by about forty men, armed with ſtaves and fiſhing poles, with an intent to puſh him into the ſea, which when he prevented, by preſſing into the midſt of them, he was knocked down and ſtunned: for James Lancaſter, having been convinced there, they pretended that he had bewitched him, and promiſed his wife, if ſhe would let them know when he came there, they would put him to death; and this ſeemed to be their intention; "but (ſays he) the Lord's power preſerved me, that they could not take my life." J. Lancaſter's wife was amongſt the foremoſt in this aſſault; for, when G. Fox recovered his ſenſes, he obſerved her buſy in throwing ſtones, while her huſband was endeavouring to protect him, by covering him with his own body, to keep off the blows and ſtones aimed at him. This woman being afterwards convinced, repented of the evil ſhe had been hurried into, as did ſome others. When George recovered his feet, they beat him down again into the boat, which J. Lancaſter obſerving, came to him, and ſet him back over the water; when he got off, they fell on J. Naylor in the like manner. G. Fox landing again at Cockan, met with no better treatment, for the people there roſe upon him with pitchforks, flails, and ſtaves, crying out, "kill him!" After giving him much abuſe, drove him ſome way out of the town, and left him, after which he walked three miles to a friend's houſe, named Thomas Hutton, where Thomas Lawſon (who had been a prieſt, and was convinced by G. Fox) lodged. When arrived at this houſe, he was hardly able to ſpeak, by reaſon of the wounds he had received, and could barely inform them of the jeopardy in which he left J. Naylor; whereupon they mounted their horſes, went in ſearch of him, and brought him thither that night.

Next

Next day M. Fell ſent a horſe to fetch him to Swarthmore; but it was with difficulty, and in much pain he got thither, through the ſoreneſs of his bruiſes.

The juſtices Sawrey and Thompſon iſſued a warrant againſt him, but judge Fell coming home prevented its preſent effect: he was greatly diſpleaſed with the treatment which G. Fox and his friends had received in his abſence, repreſenting to Sawrey the illegality of his conduct in fomenting riots. He alſo ſent warrants into the iſle of Walney to apprehend the rioters, whereupon ſome of them abſconded. Deſiring G. Fox to give him a narrative of his abuſe, he only told him, "They could do no otherwiſe, in the ſpirit wherein they were; that they manifeſted the fruits of their prieſts miniſtry, and their profeſſion of religion to be wrong;" which made the judge remark, he ſpoke as of a matter in which he had no concern.

His enemies, not ſatisfied with ſtirring up the rabble againſt him, next made an attempt to endanger his life, by a falſe accuſation of ſpeaking blaſphemy, and ſuborned falſe witneſſes againſt him to prove it. Upon their information it was that the before-mentioned juſtices granted their warrant to apprehend him; G. Fox, hearing of it, voluntarily appeared at the enſuing ſeſſions at Lancaſter, to face his accuſers. There appeared no leſs than forty prieſts, who choſe one Marſhal, prieſt of Lancaſter, for their orator; a young prieſt, and two prieſts ſons, for witneſſes; but theſe witneſſes failed of anſwering their ends; for after the firſt was examined, the ſecond was ſo much at a loſs to anſwer the queſtions put to him, that he acknowledged, "he could not ſay *it*," (I ſuppoſe repeat the blaſphemous expreſſions) "but the other could."

There were in the court ſeveral men of integrity and reputation, who had been at that meeting wherein the witneſſes ſwore he uttered thoſe blaſphemous expreſſions, and declared in court, "That the oath which theſe evidences had taken was altogether falſe; and that no ſuch words as they had ſworn againſt him were ſpoken by him at that meeting."

The juſtices perceiving that the proſecution was malicious, diſcharged him. Judge Fell, after ſpeaking to the juſtices who granted the warrant, and ſhewing them the errors thereof, in concert with Col. Weſt, granted a ſuperſedeas to ſtop its execution. This confederacy to inflict puniſhment on an innocent man, and to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe doctrines he propagated, received a defeat in both attempts; for he was not only honourably acquitted in the open ſeſſions, but, being called upon by Col. Weſt, that if he had any thing to ſay to the people, he might freely declare it: he, feeling a proper qualification, made uſe of the liberty granted him; and though he met with oppoſition from ſome of the angry prieſts, they were ſo clearly confuted, and divine truths ſo powerfully opened by him, that many proſelytes to his doctrine were gained that day; and amongſt them Juſtice Benſon of Weſtmoreland, Major Ripan, mayor of Lancaſter, and Thomas Briggs (who had ſhewn much averſion to the Quakers) was ſo effectually convinced, that he became a faithful miniſter amongſt them, and ſo continued to the end of his days.

Meetings were now ſettled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation, and ſeveral had joined in the work of the miniſtry with the approbation and to the edification of their fellow members, ſo that the number of preachers was augmented to twenty-five, amongſt whom F. Howgill, E. Burrough, John Camm, J. Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, with R. Farnſworth, W. Dewſbury, and J. Naylor,

J. Naylor, were eminent for their ſervices and ſufferings; for they had not only a ſhare with G. Fox in his miniſterial labours, but alſo in his mal-treatment.

In the courſe of this year J. Naylor and F. Howgill were impriſoned at Appleby; James being at a meeting at Orton, five prieſts with many people came thither; the prieſts aſked him ſeveral queſtions, to which he gave ſuch anſwers as fruſtrated their purpoſes of enſnaring him in his words. However, againſt the ſucceeding firſt day, they had prepared ſermons filled with invectives againſt him; and ſome of them indulged their ſpleen ſo far, (as their hearers reported) as to aſſert it would be doing God ſervice to knock him down. Having thus prepared the ruder ſort, and one of the prieſts ſons drawing a company of them together, beſet the houſe where he was, and dragged him into a field, where a juſtice, ſent for by a prieſt, was preſent, who commanded him to anſwer ſuch queſtions as the prieſt ſhould put to him, who after much conference, getting little advantage againſt him, grew angry, and warning the people not to receive him into their houſes, turned away, and the people beginning to be abuſive, the juſtice was about doing the ſame, as if they intended leaving him to the mercy of the populace. But at James's remonſtrance, the juſtice turning back, reſcued him for the preſent: yet at the inſtance of the prieſts, who were diſpleaſed thereat, he was again ſeized, and brought before the juſtice at a neighbouring alehouſe, and becauſe he did not put off his hat, they committed him to priſon for his pretended contempt, and alſo as being a vagabond, under pretence, that none there knew whence he came; for they had ſhut out all his acquaintance: upon his appealing to the juſtice that he knew him, they having been in the army together ſeveral years, the juſtice replying it was no matter, made his mittimus,

timus, and carried him to Kirby-ſteven that night, and placed a guard over him. Amongſt ſeveral of his friends, F. Howgill accompanied him thither, who took an opportunity to preach to the people, a conſiderable number being gathered in the ſtreet; upon which, being brought before a juſtice, after an examination, in which they endeavoured to wreſt his expreſſions, in order to criminate him, he was likewiſe put under a guard, and next day, together with J. Naylor, ſent to Appleby gaol.

At the ſeſſions held in Appleby in the month called January, 1652, J. Naylor was tried on an indictment for blaſphemy; but after a long examination, it appearing that the prieſts could not make out the charge exhibited againſt him, he was diſcharged by the juſtices from his impriſonment, which had continued about twenty weeks. Whether F. Howgill's confinement was of a longer or ſhorter continuance than this, we have no account.

Thomas Aldam, one of thoſe early preachers, was alſo impriſoned this year in York, at the inſtigation of the prieſt of Warnſworth, for uttering ſome expreſſions after the prieſt had ended his ſermon. At York aſſizes he was fined 40l. for coming into the court with his hat on: and was a ſecond time impriſoned in York caſtle for refuſing to pay tithes, and detained in priſon two years and ſix months. He had alſo, for 11l. 10s. demanded for tithes, taken from him goods worth 58l. 10s.

In the courſe of the ſame year ſeveral others, whoſe religious concern induced them to exhort the prieſts and their congregations at the cloſe of their public aſſemblies for worſhip, met with like treatment; but to deſcribe particularly the ſufferings they underwent for their Chriſtian teſtimonies would carry me far beyond my propoſed limits. Their ſufferings in the different counties of England and elſewhere, have been digeſted by Joſeph Beſſe, and make two volumes in folio.

CHAP

CHAP. II.

FROM THE YEAR 1653, TO THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

IN the beginning of 1653, Oliver Cromwell taking the reins of government into his own hands, it doth not appear that the change produced any revolution in favour of the Quakers, for though the ſupreme power was in new hands, the ſubordinate magiſtrates were continued in office; nor do I find any material change among the eccleſiaſtics, ſo that their former perſecutors retained power to be ſtill troubleſome to them: and their ſufferings continued to increaſe with the increaſe of their numbers.

G. Fox paſſed about this time into Cumberland, and from place to place his miniſtry was ſo well received, that many new converts were gained in moſt places which he viſited. Coming to Carliſle, he firſt preached to the ſoldiers in garriſon there.

On the market-day, he went up to the Market-croſs, and cautioned the people againſt fraud in their dealings, and to ſpeak the truth one to another. On the firſt day following he went to the place of public worſhip, and after the prieſt had done, he preached with a reaching power. The people of the town roſe and aſſaulted him; but the governor ſent down ſome muſqueteers to appeaſe the tumult, who in a friendly manner reſcued him from further inſult. A lieutenant who had been convinced took him to his houſe, and there they had a quiet and ſatisfactory meeting. The next day he was ſummoned before the magiſtrates, who falling into diſcourſe with him upon religion, and manifeſting their emptineſs as to the eſſence thereof, he endeavoured to ſhew them, that although they were high in profeſſion (being

Preſbyterians and Independents) yet they were without the poſſeſſion of what they profeſſed. This plain dealing exaſperating them, they committed him to priſon, as a blaſphemer, a heretic, and a ſeducer, where he lay till the aſſizes. From the diſpoſition that prevailed againſt him in this place, it is to be feared, the wiſh of many was, that he might be hanged. The high ſheriff, Wilfry Lawſon, indulged his rancour ſo far as to ſay, "he would guard him to execution himſelf." And the notion was ſo univerſal, that curioſity drew ſeveral perſons to ſee him, as a man that was to die. At the aſſizes the magiſtrates held a conſultation how to proceed againſt him, in order to bring him in guilty of death; but the judge's clerk ſtarting a queſtion that puzzled them, finding that the charge of blaſphemy could not be made good againſt him, and that if brought to a trial he muſt be acquitted, they concluded not to bring him to trial at all.

Anthony Pearſon, a juſtice of peace in Weſtmoreland, lately convinced, being then in Carliſle, and underſtanding the reſult of their conſultation, wrote to the judges, ſhewing the illegality of this reſolution, and demanding a fair trial for G. Fox; they paid no regard to this reaſonable demand, but left him to the magiſtrates of the town, encouraging them to treat him with rigour. He had hitherto been confined in the jailer's houſe ſo cloſely, that all his friends were denied acceſs to him; but the day after an order was ſent to the jailer to put him among the felons, in a priſon noiſome to the laſt degree. Yet theſe priſoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and ſome of them became converted by his doctrine. But far different was the conduct of the jailers, particularly that of the deputy, who in brutal rage would often beat him and his friends who came to ſee him.

Whilſt

Whilſt in confinement, among others who came to diſcourſe with him was James Parnel, a youth of about ſixteen years of age, who was by his conference ſo effectually reached that he was convinced, and became the means of convincing many others.

The report raiſed previous to the aſſizes, that G. Fox ſhould be put to death, had by this time ſpread abroad; and it came to the ears of the parliament then ſitting, that a young man at Carliſle was to die for religion, they ordered a letter of enquiry to the ſheriffs and magiſtrates concerning him.

The juſtices Benſon and Pearſon having more than once demanded liberty of the magiſtrates to viſit him in priſon, and being refuſed, wrote to them, and at length A. Pearſon got an opportunity, in company with the governor, to viſit him, and found the place of his confinement to ſmell ſo exceedingly offenſive, that the governor exclaimed at the barbarity of the magiſtrates, and calling the jailers, required ſecurities for their good behaviour; the under-jailer, who had treated George with great cruelty, he ordered into the dungeon with him. In the mean time theſe perſecuting magiſtrates, probably afraid of the parliament's further cognizance of their proceedings, and aſhamed at the governor's remonſtrance, ſoon after thought it expedient to releaſe him, as the ſureſt meaſure to bury their unjuſtifiable conduct in oblivion.

This year Miles Halhead, of Underbarrow in Weſtmoreland, feeling a concern to travel in Yorkſhire, in obedience to what he believed his duty, proceeded on his journey, in which, for publiſhing thoſe doctrines which he held as truth, he met with much abuſe. At Skipton and Doncaſter he was ſo beaten by the multitude, that they left him to appearance dead; but being ſupported by an inviſible hand, he recovered, even to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who abuſed him, and to the convincement of many

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who had heard his doctrine, obſerved his patience in ſuffering, and the unprovoked malice of his aſſailants. T. Briggs in Lancaſter, Robert Widders and W. Dewſbury in Cumberland, were alſo ſeverally abuſed about this time.

But ſtill G. Fox and his fellow-labourers perſevered in their miniſtry with unremitted zeal and remarkable ſucceſs, the number of their adherents increaſing in proportion to the cruel efforts exerted to prevent their increaſe. The integrity of their lives, and Chriſtian temper with which they ſuffered perſecution, procured them the compaſſion and eſteem of many. Others who heard them every where ſpoken againſt, and particularly from the pulpits, on a nearer acquaintance found them and their principles ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, as induced them to aſſociate with this people.

The ſhort parliament, commonly called Barebones, having reſigned their power, Cromwell was declared protector, and a model of a new legiſlature was drawn up, which he was ſworn to obſerve; in which, as there were ſeveral articles in favour of liberty of conſcience, ſome relaxation of the meaſures hitherto purſued againſt the Quakers was natural to be expected.

But notwithſtanding theſe plauſible appearances in favour of religious liberty, this people reaped no advantage therefrom; their meetings, though ſeemingly allowed, were in fact prohibited, ſince they were puniſhed as ſabbath-breakers, for travelling to them no further than their diſtant dwellings made it neceſſary. So hot for perſecution were ſome magiſtrates, that by an unparalleled miſconſtruction of the laws againſt vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of men and women of good eſtate and reputation, merely becauſe they were under the denomination of *Quakers*.

While they were expoſed to hatred, contempt

and abuſe from without, brotherly kindneſs and unfeigned charity connected them in cordial affection amongſt themſelves; ſo that the prieſts and profeſſors, who had vainly prophefied their downfal by other means, obſerving their mutual charity, began now to ſay, "they would eat one another out:" becauſe many of them after meetings, having a great way to go, took a night's lodging at ſome of their friends houſes, ſometimes in large numbers: others expreſſed their fears that, by their expenſes in entertaining one another, they would be reduced to beggary, and fall a charge upon the pariſhes*. But many of theſe lived to ſee the vanity of their forebodings; for it pleaſed Providence remarkably to bleſs and proſper them. At firſt, indeed, people were ſhy of dealing with them, by reaſon of their plain, and, as it was generally eſteemed, uncouth demeanour; and by reaſon of the general averſion produced by miſrepreſentation, ſo that many of this people were reduced to difficulty in procuring a living by their callings for a ſeaſon; but afterwards, when they became better known, and their conſcientious regard to fidelity in their commerce, careful in manufacturing or chooſing ſuch goods as might anſwer the expectations of the purchaſers, moderate in their profits, ſparing in their commendations, and punctual in payment, not aſking more for their ware than the preciſe ſum they were determined to accept, taking no advantage of ignorance, the unſkilful cuſtomer being treated with as much juſtice as the moſt judicious; their tried integrity begat general confidence, and brought them a great reſort of cuſtomers,

* This people have never ſuffered their poor to fall an incumbrance on their pariſhes; but they have ever afforded them a comfortable ſupport amongſt themſelves: and at the ſame time evidence a readineſs with the foremoſt to contribute to the ſupport of the common poor, both in their quota of the poor tax, and in extending private charity to deſerving objects within their notice.

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ſo that they proſpered greatly in their outward affairs.

Meetings being ſettled in many parts of the north, and with the number of profeſſors the number of miniſters proportionably increaſing, ſeveral conceived it their duty to go into other parts of the nation. Of theſe F. Howgill and E. Burrough travelled to London; J. Camm and J. Audland to Briſtol; R. Hubberthorn and George Whitehead to Norwich, and others to other parts. G. Fox, ſolicitous for the advancement of the truth, and that the conduct of thoſe who were concerned to promote it might not in the leaſt degree ſully the brightneſs thereof, wrote an epiſtle, admoniſhing them to prudence; to abide under the croſs of Chriſt; to receive wiſdom from God by the light; and not to be haſty to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience. F. Howgill and E. Burrough arrived in London in company with A. Pearſon, being the firſt of the people called Quakers that had a meeting in London; F. Howgill and A. Pearſon at the houſe of Robert Dring in Watling-ſtreet, and E. Burrough the ſame day in the aſſembly of a ſeparate ſociety: their miniſterial labours were bleſſed with ſucceſs, being attended with a convincing power, awakening the conſciences of the audience to a ſenſe of their conditions and earneſt deſires after ſalvation.

Feeling ſympathy with his brethren under perſecution, with whom he had been a fellow-ſufferer, F. Howgill went to court to intercede with O. Cromwell to put a ſtop thereto; but his viſit ſeems to have had a more beneficial effect upon Oliver's ſervants than upon himſelf; for ſome of theſe, particularly Theophilus Green and Mary Sanders, were ſo far affected, that after ſome time they joined the ſociety.

He afterwards wrote to Oliver on the ſame ſubject; but the ſequel doth not manifeſt any good effects

effects reſulting therefrom; his friends continued ſtill ſubject to a variety of hardſhips, during the remainder of Oliver's protectorate.

Through the preaching of E. Burrough and F. Howgill, many citizens of London were brought over to their profeſſion, ſo that meetings were ſettled in that city, firſt in the houſe of Sarah Sawyer in Alderſgate-ſtreet, then in that of ——— Bates in Tower-ſtreet, and another at Gerard Roberts's in Thomas Apoſtles, till the body growing too large for private houſes to accommodate, a houſe known by the name of "Boulogne Mouth, in Martins-le-grand," near Alderſgate, was hired for a meeting-houſe.

Now the preſs, as well as the pulpits, was ſet to work: books and publications by the teachers of ſeveral ſects were ſpread abroad, repreſenting the Quakers as ſeducers: but the event did not anſwer their hope, for Burrough and Howgill did not ſuffer theſe writings to paſs unnoticed; but clearly manifeſted the malice and the abſurdities of the writers.

It doth not appear that they met with any moleſtation in their perſons in the metropolis; but after they had gathered and ſettled meetings there, they travelled to Briſtol, where J. Camm and J. Audland had arrived before, and whoſe miniſtry there had been effectual to gather a number to their community. Their public aſſemblies, for want of room in the uſual meeting-houſes, were held in the fields, even in winter, increaſing in number to two, three, and ſometimes near four thouſand. This alarmed the prieſts, and they the magiſtrates, who on the 30th Oct. held a council, the mayor preſiding, and ſent for Burrough and Howgill. The iſſue of their examination, at which none of their friends were ſuffered to be preſent, was an order for their departing the city forthwith. To this they anſwered: "We came

came not in the will of man, nor ſtand in the will of man, but when He ſhall move us to depart, who moved us to come hither, we ſhall obey: we are free-born Engliſhmen, and have ſerved the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the ſight of God from the tranſgreſſion of any law: to your commands we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot reſiſt." Having ſaid this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city preaching as before; for though the magiſtrates bore them no good will, yet they could not either by law or juſtice execute the order they had made. Enraged at this diſappointment, the prieſts excited the mob to do what the magiſtrates could not. On the 19th of Dec. J. Camm and J. Audland, paſſing over the bridge toward Briſſlington, where they had appointed a meeting, were aſſaulted by the rabble, whoſe ignorant zeal had been blown up to the higheſt pitch of fury by one Farmer, a perſecuting prieſt, and ſome others. They violently drove back the innocent ſtrangers, ſome crying out, "hang them preſently;" others, "knock them down;" ſome propoſed to drag them out of the city, in order to execute their purpoſe, but were diſſuaded by others who adviſed firſt to carry them before the mayor. Then they dragged them to the Tolzey, where the courts of juſtice are held. There again the mob would probably have torn them to pieces, had not a friend with much danger and difficulty got them into his houſe. The rabble threatened to pull down the houſe, but the officers of the garriſon approaching, the mob diſperſed. Next morning the two ſtrangers paſſed over the bridge to their meeting at Briſſlington. Three of the rioters having been apprehended, a mob gathered again to the number of 1500, and forced the diſcharge of their companions. Towards evening it was rumoured that the Quakers were returning, whereupon multitudes drew

drew together on the bridge, and on the other ſide of the river Avon, uttering terrible menaces, ſo that the magiſtrates, fearing bloodſhed, ſent their ſword-bearer to prevent the men from returning that way, for that "they could not undertake to ſecure them." Theſe diſorders were too much countenanced by men in office. It was credibly reported that George Helliar, an Alderman, ſaid at the Tolzey, to ſome of the rioters, "that he would ſpend his blood, and loſe his life, rather than that any of his fellow apprentices ſhould go to priſon:" ſuch familiarity increaſed their inſolence. Nevertheleſs the magiſtrates ſoon after, in repreſenting theſe tumults to the Protector, charged the innocent men, againſt whom they were raiſed, as the authors of them.

Amidſt ſo many inſtances of arbitrary rule and lawleſs riot, I am pleaſed to meet with one of a more Chriſtian diſpoſition in the mayor of Oxford of this year (1654). Eliz. Heavens and Eliz. Fletcher, two North-country women, came under a religious concern to the ſaid city, to exhort the inhabitants to repentance. Their labours of love met with inhuman return from the ſcholars, who drove them to the pump in John's College, where they pumped water on their necks and into their mouths till they were almoſt ſuffocated; after which they tied them arm to arm, and dragged them up and down the college and through a pool of water: they threw Eliz. Fletcher over a grave, whereby ſhe received a contuſion on her ſide, from which ſhe never recovered. A few days after, the ſame women went to exhort the people to the practice of godlineſs: two juſtices of peace, who were preſent, ordered them to a priſon, uſually appropriated to the reception of felons. Next day thoſe juſtices ſent a meſſage to the mayor, to meet them and others to examine theſe Quakers, who expreſſed his diſapprobation of their proceedings: "Let them," ſaid he, "who committed them, deal with

with them according to law; for my part, I have nothing againſt them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly ſupply them." However, when the juſtices met, after a ſhort examination, the women were ordered to withdraw, while the magiſtrates conſulted together; and though nothing appeared to criminate them, they drew up their ſentence againſt them in writing, That they ſhould be whipped out of the city. According to the legal conſtitution of the city, it was requiſite for the mayor to ſign a ſentence of corporeal puniſhment, and affix his ſeal of office to make it valid, which in this caſe he refuſed to do. The vice-chancellor and his coadjutors reſolved, ſince the mayor would not legalize the ſentence, they would have it executed without him, and accordingly gave orders that the poor women ſhould be ſeverely whipped the next morning, and had their order effectually executed; though the conviction of their innocence affected the heart even of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with reluctance. The women bearing their grievous ſufferings with Chriſtian patience, without murmuring, their meek and patient behaviour impreſſed many of the ſober inhabitants with compaſſionate ſympathy towards them, who in much love accompanied them out of the city.

In this year Barbara Blaugdon of Briſtol met with uſage equally ſevere. She was a woman religiouſly inclined from her youth, and eſteemed in her profeſſion, which was the inſtruction of children. She was ſo abſtemious as to deny herſelf the uſe of fleſh, drinking only water for the ſpace of a year. This woman was repeatedly concerned to intercede on behalf of her perſecuted friends, and not without ſucceſs, and was remarkably expoſed to a variety of perſecutions herſelf. At Marlborough, for exhorting the people to fear God, ſhe was impriſoned for

the ſpace of ſix weeks; and after her releaſe, viſiting Iſaac Burgeſs, the magiſtrate who committed her, by her diſcourſe his underſtanding was ſo opened, that he aſſented to the truth; and though he had not reſolution to make public profeſſion thereof, yet he was ever afterwards a man of moderation, and a friendly protector of the members of this community. Soon after, paſſing into Devonſhire, at Great Torrington, for expreſſing a few words of exhortation to the people in the place of public worſhip, ſhe was ſummoned before the mayor, who conducted himſelf with moderation, and ſeemed reluctant to ſend her to priſon. But the prieſt's urgency prevailed over the magiſtrate's moderation, by whom ſhe was ſent to Exeter priſon, twenty miles diſtant, where ſhe was detained till the aſſizes, but brought to no trial; and after the aſſizes ſhe was lodged one night among a number of gipſies who were there in priſon. Next day the ſheriff coming with the beadle, brought her into a room, where ſhe was whipped till the blood ran down her back; and ſuch was her magnanimity, that ſhe never ſtarted at a blow. The beadle, provoked at her conſtancy, laid on his ſtripes with redoubled fury, till the ſheriff ſeeing that their malice made no impreſſion upon her, ordered the fellow to deſiſt. The next day ſhe was turned out of the city with the gipſies, the beadle following them two miles. Upon his leaving them, ſhe returned to viſit her friends ſhe had left behind in priſon, which having done, ſhe went home to Briſtol.

She had not been long home, before ſhe felt an impulſe on her mind to go abroad on the following occaſion: two of her friends, Thomas Robertſon and Ambroſe Rigge, being at a meeting at Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire (the firſt friends had there) were committed to priſon, where they had lain for ſome time; and Barbara apprehending it her duty to viſit them, and uſe endeavours to obtain their releaſe, went

went to Baſingſtoke; and upon her arrival, going to the priſon, was refuſed admittance. She then went to the mayor, and requeſted their liberty; which he promiſed to grant, provided he might ſee the letter ſhe had brought them, (viz. a letter from J. Camm) which ſhe readily producing; after he had read it, he told her ſhe ſhould have her friends out, but that he could not let them out preſently: yet it was not long before they were ſet at liberty.

G. Fox, after his releaſe from Carliſle jail, travelled through ſundry parts of the north of England and through Yorkſhire into Lincolnſhire: the ſheriff of Lincoln coming to a meeting which he was at, made great contention for a time, but at length was ſo reached by the power attending George's teſtimony, that he was convinced, as were ſeveral others alſo who came to oppoſe.

During his ſtay in this country, his friends increaſed, and many received his doctrine; amongſt others Sir Rich. Wrey, his brother, and brother's wife. But Sir Richard finding the way too narrow, left their community after ſome time.

Travelling through Derbyſhire into Leiceſterſhire he came to Swaningtown, to a general meeting, where he met J. Audland, F. Howgill, Edw. Pyot from Briſtol, and Edw. Burrough from London. To this meeting came many Ranters, Baptiſts, and other profeſſors; but that power which attended George and his friends brought them down, ſo that many of them became convinced.

From hence he went to Twycroſs and Drayton, to viſit his relations. While he was here, Nathaniel Stephens, prieſt of Drayton, having firſt got another prieſt to diſpute, and after that ſeven others to join him, had given public notice, unknown to George, that on ſuch a day there would be a meeting and diſpute with him. Upon this occaſion ſeveral hundreds were gathered to witneſs the

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umph of the prieſts. This combination was formed with a view to get an advantage by numbers over George and his friends, in order to bring them and their principles into diſgrace; but the event did not anſwer their hopes; for in the courſe of their conference George drawing a ſtriking parallel between their practices and thoſe of the falſe prophets and phariſees, the prieſts in diſappointment quitted the field, and many of the people were convinced that day. George's father, who was ſtill in communion with Stephens, as one of his pariſhioners, was ſo well ſatisfied, that, ſtriking his cane upon the ground, he ſaid, "Truly I ſee, he that will ſtand to the truth, it will carry him through."

At Whetſtone, where a meeting was to be held, Col. Hacker ſent about ſeventeen troopers, who took up G. Fox, and brought him before the Colonel and his officers, by the procurement of the prieſts, as he thought. And after much diſcourſe with them, the Colonel gave him liberty "to go home," provided "he would ſtay there and not go abroad to meetings." But George being unwilling to agree to the conditions, his ſon Nedham ſaid, "Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off." So malicious a ſpeech drew from George this pertinent query. "For what? what have I done? or whom have I wronged from a child? In this country I had my birth and education, and who can accuſe me of any evil from my infancy to this day?"—Then the Colonel aſked him, if he would go home and ſtay at home? George looking upon this requiſition as unreaſonable, having adminiſtered no cauſe for ſuch reſtriction of his liberty, replied, "If he ſhould agree thereto it would imply that he was guilty of ſomething, for which his home was made his priſon: and if he went to meeting, they would conſider that as a breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he ſhould

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go to meeting, and could not anſwer their requirings." "Well then," ſaid Hacker, "I will ſend you to-morrow morning by ſix o'clock to my Lord Protector, by Capt. Drury, one of his life-guard." That night he was kept in the Marſhalſea, and next morning about the hour appointed delivered to Capt. Drury. But before they ſet off, requeſting to ſpeak with Col. Hacker, he was taken to his bed-ſide, where George kneeled down, and prayed the Lord "to forgive him:" looking upon him to be like Pilate, willing to waſh his hands while he complied with the inſtigations of the perſecuting prieſts; and therefore deſired him, "When the day of his miſery and trial came upon him, then to remember what he had ſaid to him."

So parting from him, he was carried priſoner to London, where being lodged at the Mermaid, Charing-Croſs, Capt. Drury went to inform the Protector, who ſent him back with this meſſage, "That the Protector required of G. Fox, that he ſhould promiſe not to take up the ſword againſt him or the government, as it then was; that he ſhould write it in what words he ſaw proper, and ſet his hand to it." George, on conſideration thereof, wrote to the Protector the next morning by the name of Oliver Cromwell, declaring in the preſence of the Lord, "That he did deny the wearing or drawing of a ſword, or any outward weapon, againſt him or any man. That he was ſent of God to ſtand a witneſs againſt all violence, and againſt the works of darkneſs; and to bring people from the occaſion of wars and fightings to the peaceable goſpel; and from being evil doers, to whom the magiſtrates ſword ſhould be a terror;" to which he ſubſcribed his name, and gave it to Drury to deliver to Cromwell. Some time after Drury returned, and took G. Fox before the Protector at Whitehall. Upon his coming in he ſaid, "Peace be in this houſe," and exhorted the

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Protector "to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wiſdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory. They had ſome diſcourſe about religion, in which the Protector carried himſelf with much moderation: but remarking that "G. Fox and his friends quarrelled with the miniſters," George told him he did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with him; but, added he; if we own the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, we cannot uphold ſuch teachers as they teſtified againſt, that is, ſuch as violate Chriſt's command; who take the overſight of the flock for filthy lucre, and divine for money. When George made a motion to retire, upon other people coming in, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes ſaid, "Come again to my houſe, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we ſhould be nearer one to another;" adding, "that he wiſhed him no more ill than he did his own ſoul." Then George bade him "hearken to the voice of God, ſtand in his counſel, and obey it; if he did ſo it would preſerve him from hardneſs of heart; but if not, his heart would be hardened." The Protector ſeemed affected, and ſaid, "It was true." George then took his leave, and Drury following him out, informed him that the Lord Protector ſaid he was at liberty, and might go whither he would.

He ſtaid during the remaining part of the year in London, where he had very crouded meetings. The number of his friends greatly increaſed, and he could reckon ſome belonging to Cromwell's court in the number of thoſe convinced.

From thence he went into Bedfordſhire, where he had a meeting at the houſe of John Crook, a juſtice of peace, who, with others, was convinced; on which account he was deprived of his commiſſion. After

ſome time he became an able miniſter, and a ſerviceable member of this religious community.

About this time William Caton and John Stubbs went into Kent. It ſeems proper, as they have not been noticed before, to make the reader a little acquainted with them.

W. Caton, about the fourteenth year of his age, was introduced into the family of Judge Fell, where his agreeable diſpoſition ſo ingratiated him with that family, that he was made companion to the judge's ſon. They learned together for ſome time under a private tutor, and were afterwards removed to a public ſchool at Hawkſhead.

Judge Fell, his wife and daughters, being perſons of virtuous demeanour, the converſation in ſuch company, gave him an early turn to piety.

In 1652 (as before recited) G. Fox came to Swarthmore and preached in the family; and ſo affected W. Caton, that he became ſubject to this internal convincement, whereby he felt much reſtriction in his conduct, and could no longer take the liberties he had done before. The change of company he met with at Hawkſhead, on compariſon with that he had left at Swarthmore, did not ſit eaſy on his mind; which M. Fell perceiving, cauſed him to ſtay at home, where ſhe employed him in writing and teaching her children. Being arrived at his eighteenth year, he was increaſed in experience; and in a while eſteeming it his duty to labour in the miniſtry, he deſired to be diſcharged from his engagement in that family, which was granted in conſideration of the ſervice for which it was aſked; and about the end of 1654 he took his leave, not without tears on both ſides.

J. Stubbs was a ſoldier in O. Cromwell's army; and being in garriſon at Carliſle when G. Fox was in priſon there, he was convinced by him, and became a miniſter amongſt this people. When Crom-

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well took the reins of government into his own hands, he required the ſoldiers and others to take an oath of fidelity to him; but ſeveral of them, when the oath was tendered to them, declared, that in obedience to Chriſt's command, they durſt not ſwear, whereupon they were diſbanded; amongſt theſe refuſers was J. Stubbs, who the latter end of this year, or the beginning of the next, travelled to London, where he met with W. Caton: they travelled into Kent, and coming to Dover, altogether ſtrangers, they took up their lodgings at an inn. They ſought opportunities of publiſhing their doctrines in the congregations of profeſſors in that town; but the moſt remarkable opportunity was at a meeting of Baptiſts, to which abundance of people reſorted, and many were affected with their doctrine, and adhered to it, which occaſioned ſuch a ſtir, that they were haled before the magiſtrates, who prohibited the inhabitants from entertaining them under a penalty, whereupon they were turned out of their lodgings, but Luke Howard received them into his houſe, and heard them gladly. The mayor ſent four conſtables, with an order, to take them from hence, and turn them out of the town; but Luke aſſerting his right, as a freeman of the corporation, refuſed to comply with the order, inſiſting, that the mayor had no legal authority to violate the laws of hoſpitality in his houſe, by forcing out his gueſts, who were not accuſed of any crime. They tarried with him ſome days, and ſo confirmed him in the belief of their principles, that he publicly declared himſelf to be of their perſuaſion, and had meetings afterwards frequently at his houſe.

Soon after they came to Lidd, where dwelt Samuel Fiſher, who, as prieſt of the pariſh, had been employed by the maſter of L. Howard, then an apprentice, to confer with him for declining to ſing

the Pſalms of David* in public worſhip. The re-
ſult of this converſation was, that Howard's reaſons
had ſuch a convincing effect on S. Fiſher's mind,
that he found a difficulty in giving out David's con-
ditions to the people to ſing any more. He was a
man of good abilities, having received a liberal edu-
cation in his minority, and afterwards proſecuted
his ſtudies at the univerſity—while there, he was
remarkable for his circumſpect converſation. When
he had finiſhed his ſtudies he was ordained prieſt,
and was firſt a chaplain to ſome man of quality, and
afterwards preſented to the living at Lidd, worth
200l. a year. Continuing to preach for wages, be-
came a burden too grievous for him to bear; he re-
ſigned his living, placing his confidence in Provi-
dence for the future ſupport of himſelf and family.
He rented a farm, and commenced grazier, by which
he procured a decent competency, enhanced by the
conſolation of ſolid content, and the internal teſti-
mony of an approving heart.

Having diſcovered too great a mixture of human
invention and tradition retained in the epiſcopal
church, he withdrew from its communion, and join-
ed the Baptiſts, amongſt whom he became an emi-
nent teacher.

It was about this time that W. Caton and J.
Stubbs came to Lidd, whom S. Fiſher received into
his houſe. J. Stubbs going to the meeting where
Fiſher preached, and having gotten an opportuni-

* Luke was very open in declaring the reaſons of his ſcru-
to the following purport: That God was a ſpirit, and to
worſhipped, not in other men's words, but in ſpirit and in tru
That it was a falſehood for a proud man to ſing, that "he w
not puffed up in his mind;—he had no ſcornful eye,—and
did not exerciſe himſelf in things that were too high." T
it was abſurd for any man to ſing, "Rivers of tears run do
mine eyes, becauſe other men keep not thy laws," whilſt
never knew a true ſorrow and repentance for "his own ſins.

accordi

according to the principles of friends, he delivered his doctrine with clearneſs and authority, whereby S. Fiſher was ſo affected, that he ſoon after openly profeſſed himſelf of this deſpiſed ſociety, particularly on the following occaſion: Hammond, his colleague in office, in a ſermon uttering many invectives againſt the Quakers, S. Fiſher thought his duty called upon him, in juſtice to his miſinformed flock, and the injured Quakers, to bear his teſtimony in oppoſition to the calumnies of his colleague, and in the ſincerity of his heart having borne teſtimony to the truth, he corroborated it by joining with the ſociety, and proved a ſerviceable member, both by his goſpel labours and judicious writings.

W. Caton and J. Stubbs continued their journey through Kent, where they met with many religiouſly inclined, who readily embraced their doctrine; ſome of theſe being deſirous to make them pecuniary acknowledgment, and being urgent with them to accept thereof, they acknowledged their good-will, but refuſed their money, letting them know, it was not their goods, but the good of them which they ſought.

Travelling on to Maidſtone, J. Stubbs went to the public place of worſhip, then poſſeſſed by the preſbyterians, and W. Caton to the meeting of the independents. J. Stubbs was taken from the worſhip-houſe and put into the ſtocks, and afterwards examined by the Recorder, to whom he rendered a good account of himſelf and of his eſtate, being ſufficient to ſupport himſelf and his family. Caton was next day taken to the inn, and alſo examined by the Recorder; when they were both ſent to the houſe of correction, where they were ſearched; their money, ink-horns, Bibles, &c. taken away. Afterwards they were ſtripped, put in the ſtocks, and ſo cruelly whipped with cords, as to draw tears from the ſpectators. Theſe endeavours were uſed to compel them to work, but in vain; for as they were

guilty of the breach of no law, they refuſed to comply with the unreaſonable demand. Their perſecutors, therefore, kept them ſome days without victuals, allowing them only a little water once a day. Some of the malefactors impriſoned there, would have ſhared their bread with them, but they were not free to accept it. The report of their treatment being ſpread in the town, and producing compaſſion in many of the inhabitants, and averſion to this arbitrary ſeverity, an officer was ſent to reſtore them ſome of the property, which had been taken from them, and then they purchaſed victuals with their own money. Not long after, they were ſeparated, and ſent away with a paſs, like vagabonds, being ſent off at different ends of the town. They met again at London, and had not been long there, before they apprehended it a duty required of them, to return to Maidſtone, to fulfil their miniſtry in that, and places adjacent. This, after their late ſufferings there, was a great trial; but believing it to be a divine requiring, they gave up, and were ſuffered to diſcharge their duty, and paſs away unmoleſted. From thence they went to Canterbury and at the meeting of the Baptiſts and Independents had liberty to publiſh their doctrine, whereby ſome being convinced of the truth thereof, received their teſtimony.

In the latter end of this year and the beginning of the next, they took their journey together to Scotland; and at Berwick W. Caton went to the public worſhip-houſe, and after the prieſt had concluded, had liberty to deliver what was on his mind; but when he had done, was taken before the magiſtrates, who ordered him to be turned out of the town; which order was immediately executed. J. Stubbs was that day at the Baptiſt's meeting, and had ſome ſervice there. They travelled on to Edinburgh, where they found ſome diſorders had crept into the church; but, through the effectual influen-

of their miniſtry, better order was reſtored amongſt them. From hence J. Stubbs returned to England. W. Caton ſtayed ſome time longer in Scotland, exerciſing his miniſterial labours, in ſundry places, to good purpoſe. Having eaſed his mind, he returned to Swarthmore, where he was received with much affection.

Richard Hubberthorn coming into Norfolk, at Wymondham, feeling a concern to exhort the congregation there, after the prieſt had ended his ſermon, was committed to Bridewell; and from thence, the next day, to Norwich caſtle, where he was lodged in a very incommodious priſon; being a ſmall hole in a croſs wall, and there detained till the ſeſſions: when the juſtices took occaſion, from his appearing before them with his hat on, to charge him with a contempt of authority; and under that pretence, recommitted him to priſon.

G. Whitehead alſo, believing it a duty required of him to go to that called Peter's church in Norwich, to bear ſuch teſtimony as the Lord might give him, was haled out, and much hurt; and from thence hurried to the Guildhall, before the mayor, who examined him concerning water baptiſm, and ſome other things, in hopes to get ſome anſwer from him which might furniſh a plauſible pretext for committing him to priſon; but getting no advantage againſt him from his anſwers, he committed him to priſon notwithſtanding.

J. Lancaſter, for calling the people to repentance in the market at Norwich, had been committed, with one Chriſtopher Atkinſon, to the ſame priſon a ſhort time before; where, not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, they lay in their clothes on the floor for eight weeks in the cold winter, which was a great hardſhip; eſpecially on G. Whitehead, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had been tenderly educated.

At the enſuing ſeſſions for that city, G. Whitehead and J. Lancaſter were diſcharged by the court; but ſtill detained by the jailer, under pretence of fees, ſeveral weeks longer; till the jailer died, and his widow, of a more merciful diſpoſition, ſet them at liberty.

Atkinſon, being of a rougher temper, for uttering ſome bitter expreſſions againſt his oppoſers, was detained longer in priſon; actions being laid againſt him by a prieſt and an attorney, and by giving way to paſſion, he fell from the tenderneſs of his firſt convincement, and miniſtered occaſion to the adverſaries to ſpeak reproachfully.

Not long after this, Thomas Symonds, for aſking a prieſt a ſerious queſtion reſpecting his doctrine, was committed to Norwich caſtle; and G. Whitehead going to viſit him and another friend, under confinement, was by order of the mayor detained there about three weeks.

Amongſt numbers who were convinced in thoſe parts by R. Hubberthorn and G. Whitehead, was Capt. John Laurence, (and moſt of his family) who, having been a member of an Independent congregation at Norwich, was ſummoned to their meeting in the pariſh church, called George's of Tombland, to anſwer the charge againſt him for leaving their communion; and he, being diſpoſed to appear, was accompanied by G. Whitehead.

After J. Laurence had given his reaſon for leaving them, they proceeded to excommunicate him; and a great concourſe of people being gathered, G. Whitehead ſtood up to deliver a brief exhortation; but had ſcarce begun, when he was puſhed out of the worſhip-houſe, and expoſed to a multitude, prepared for miſchief, from whom he received much abuſe; being dragged along the ſtreet, and thereby grievouſly bruiſed. In going out of the city, he came near a houſe belonging to lady Hubbard; her chap-
lain

lain coming out to ſee the occaſion of the tumult, entered into diſcourſe with G. Whitehead; and during their diſcourſe, the mob, who ſeemed intent upon further miſchief, ſtood round them in a ring to hear what paſſed. In the mean time a trooper coming up, kindly reſcued him, and conducted him ſafely to T. Symonds's houſe in the city. This trooper, whoſe name was Robert Turner, was afterwards convinced, and joined the ſociety, reſiding at Lynn in Norfolk.

R. Hubberthorn being ſtill detained in Norwich caſtle, G. Whitehead continued attending meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, ſometimes alone, ſometimes accompanied by Richard Clayton and others. After R. Hubberthorn was ſet at liberty, they joined again his companions, and had ſeveral large and comfortable meetings together. In ſeveral of theſe meetings they were interrupted by oppoſition from ſome preachers of other ſocieties. Yet two of them, Richard Townend, and John Burch, a preacher among the Baptiſts, were ſo far affected, that after a ſeaſon of ſerious conſideration, they both joined in ſociety with friends, and became ſerviceable members and miniſters among them.

In the ſummer of 1655, G. Whitehead, John Harwood, and R. Clayton, paſſing through Buers, a town in Suffolk, R. Clayton fixed a paper on the door of the worſhip-houſe there, containing ſome quotations from Scripture: ſeveral people came together to read it, to whom G. Whitehead and J. Harwood gave a Chriſtian exhortation "to live in the fear of the Lord, and to turn from the evil of their ways, &c." While they were ſpeaking, a conſtable came and carried them before Herbert Pelham, an Eſſex juſtice, then at Buers; who examined them, though officiouſly, being out of his precinct, and then ſent them, together with Clayton, to Thomas Waldgrave, a juſtice at Small-bridge; who, having

aſked them a few queſtions, left them in the cuſtody of the conſtable, till Pelham and he had conſulted together: the iſſue of which was, that R. Clayton, by Waldgrave's order, was whipped publicly as a vagabond, and ſent out of the town, the ſame day, with a paſs. J. Harwood was the next day ſent to Edmundſbury gaol, and G. Whitehead the day following. A few weeks after, Geo. Roſe was ſent to the ſame priſon, by juſtice Gurdon, with a mittimus, aſſigning no breach of law, nor any matter of fact; nor indeed had he given any juſt occaſion of offence, except his aſking a queſtion of the prieſt of Stoke after his ſermon; at which the prieſt was diſpleaſed, and the juſtice, to avenge the parſon's quarrel, took this extrajudicial courſe to ſend the poor man to priſon.

At the next quarter ſeſſions, Whitehead, Harwood, and Roſe, were indicted as common diſturbers. The juſtices who committed them were their ſole accuſers; and an ignorant jury, by direction of the court, preſently found them guilty; whereupon they were fined twenty nobles each, and recommitted to priſon till payment. G. Fox of Chaſefield, commonly called G. Fox the younger, to diſtinguiſh him from the other of that name, being preſent at the trial, and obſerving the prejudice expreſſed by juſtice Gurdon againſt the priſoners, ſaid to him, as he was coming out of the ſeſſions houſe, "Repent of thy unjuſt actions this day, for otherwiſe thou canſt not eſcape the juſt judgment of God." Upon this Gurdon had him before the bench, who demanded ſureties till the next ſeſſions, which he not complying with, they ſent him to priſon with the others.

On the 22d of November, Henry Marſhal, for ſpeaking a few words to a prieſt after his ſermon was ended, was, by order of juſtice Gurdon, firſt ſet in the ſtocks, and then ſent to Edmundſbury jail. A

the next ſeſſions he was fined twenty marks, and remanded to priſon. At the ſame ſeſſions G. Fox was called, but no indictment found againſt him; yet the court ſent him back to priſon.

The uſage of theſe five priſoners was very hard: becauſe they would not gratify the jailer's avarice, in paying him an extravagant price for their lodging, and demanding a free priſon, (not knowing how long their impriſonment might continue,) he turned them down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthern floor, where they lay upon rye ſtraw: and becauſe they declined advancing his gains, by buying his ſtrong liquors; and bore their teſtimony againſt the drunkenneſs, ſwearing, and other diſorders he permitted in his houſe; reproving him for his hypocriſy, for he made high pretenſions to religion, while he ſuffered, and, for his gain, promoted licentiouſneſs; he was exceedingly embittered againſt them, ſo as often to ſtrike them on the face, and grievouſly abuſe them various ways, both by words and blows; as did his ſervants alſo. Some of the priſoners, encouraged by his example, frequently took away their food and other neceſſaries, alledging the jailer gave them leave ſo to do; one, deſperately wicked, frequently kicked and ſmote them, and, when drunk, threatened to kill them, ſaying, "If he killed them he ſhould not be hanged for it."

After they had been in priſon about thirty weeks, the jailer demanded arrears of dues for fourteen pence a week from each of them; which they, who were obliged to buy even the ſtraw they lay upon, demonſtrating againſt as an unreaſonable demand, he ordered their bed-clothes and boxes to be taken away, threatening to take their coats from off their backs. For the ſpace of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie in part of their body-clothes upon ſtraw. When clean linen, &c. were brought them,

the jailer cauſed them to be ſeized; and when proſions were brought, they were not permitted to receive them before they were examined. One time being enraged at their conſtant teſtimony againſt the groſs diſorders abounding in the jail through his ſelf-intereſted connivance, he cauſed them to be put down into a dungeon, in which was a dangerous deep pit. When their friends came to viſit them, he would not admit them; and if they endeavoured to ſpeak to them at the window or door of the jail, water was frequently thrown upon them, to drive them away.

At length an account of their uſage was ſent to their friends in London, upon which they made application to the Protector, and his deputy Fleetwood; and an order was ſent down, to have the matters of fact complained of examined into by four juſtices; who, hearing their caſe in the jailer's preſence, which he could not gainſay, ſome of them blamed the jailer, and charged him not to ſuffer his ſervants to abuſe them, for if they did, they would ſend them to Ipſwich jail.

After this examination they met with better treatment. One of the juſtices, John Clark, being the jailer's neighbour, and a fellow member of the ſame community, ſeemed to diſcover a partiality to his ſide; ſo that from his behaviour, through the whole examination, they conceived little hope of an impartial account being returned to the protector; or that their releaſe would follow the juſtice's repreſentation, which it did not for ſome time.

But the report of the hardſhips they endured again reached their friends in London, whoſe application to Cromwell, being ſeconded by the private ſolicitations of Mary Sanders*, a waiting gentle-

* Afterwards Mary Stout, and one of the people called Quakers, of exemplary conduct.

woman

woman in Cromwell's family, at laſt procured an order for their releaſe, after an impriſonment from twelve to fifteen months. Purſuant to this order Sir Francis Ruſſill cauſed them immediately to be ſet at liberty.

In the beginning of this year, 1656, J. Parnel travelled ſouthward, labouring in the propagation of thoſe doctrines he received as truth; for which ſervice he was eminently qualified, although but a youth of about eighteen years of age. He was born at Retford in Nottinghamſhire, and had the advantage of a good education. He joined the ſociety of friends as early as the ſixteenth year of his age, and for that reaſon was rejected by his relations.

He took his journey through Huntingdonſhire and the Iſle of Ely into Cambridgeſhire, preaching the goſpel and reaſoning with oppoſers. At Cambridge, for publiſhing a declaration againſt corrupt miniſters and magiſtrates, he was detained in priſon over two ſeſſions, and afterwards turned out of the town as a vagabond. He ſoon after returned, and diſputed with the ſcholars, from whom he met with very cruel treatment. He thence proſecuted his journey into Eſſex, being the firſt of the ſociety who preached the goſpel in that county: at Stebbing, Felſted, Witham, Coggeſhall, and Halſted, and other places, many by his miniſtry were convinced. About the middle of ſummer he came to Colcheſter, and on the firſt day of the week preached to a large number, firſt at his lodging, then at the public place of worſhip; next in a great meeting appointed on purpoſe. After that he diſputed with the town-lecturer and another prieſt in the French ſchool, all in one day; and a conſiderable convincement was the fruit of his labour. Among the reſt, Stephen Criſp, a man of good parts, coming to diſcourſe with him, and James appearing at firſt ſight a mere boy, he viewed him with contempt; but upon

entering

entering into diſcourſe with him, the awful frame of his ſpirit, and weight of his expreſſions, cauſed his admiration; and at length approving the doctrine, became himſelf an eminent publiſher of the ſame. J. Parnel ſpent the reſt of that week in preaching there, to the convincement of many more; while others were provoked to ſuch a degree of rage, as often to reward with blows his fervent zeal for their reformation: one blind zealot ſtruck him a violent blow with a great ſtaff, ſaying, "Take that for Chriſt's ſake;" to whom this innocent ſufferer meekly replied, "Friend, I do receive it for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake." From thence he went to Coggeſhall, where the Independent profeſſors had appointed a faſt on purpoſe to pray againſt the ſpreading of error, by which they meant the doctrine of the Quakers. The prieſt who had officiated on the occaſion had prepared a ſermon, replete with invectives againſt that people. J. Parnel being preſent, eſteemed it his duty to vindicate himſelf and brethren againſt his miſrepreſentations, for which he was apprehended and brought before four juſtices. After examination, he was committed to Colcheſter Caſtle, where he was cloſely confined. And at the time of the enſuing aſſizes at Chelmſford, he was faſtened to a chain with felons, and led above twenty miles through the country, remaining chained day and night.

At his trial he was brought to the bar hand-cuffed but the people exclaiming againſt that barbarity, at his next appearance his manacles were taken off. The judge ſeemed to be predetermined against him, ſaying, the Protector had charged him to puniſh ſuch as ſhould contemn either magiſtrates or miniſters, and in his charge to the jury he directed them to bring him in guilty. After conſultation, the jury found nothing to lay to his charge but a book or paper, entitled the Fruits of a Faſt, in which he

ad anſwered the juſtice's mittimus; and wherein he xpoſed the errors and inconſiſtency of the charge gainſt him, juſtified the peaceableneſs of his own emeanour, and gave a ſolid account of the work of ivine grace upon his ſoul, and of the neceſſity laid pon him to teſtify againſt the formalities and will-orſhip of human invention; and this writing he ad owned to be his. But being indicted for a riot, ey found themſelves under a difficulty to agree in eir verdict. The judge and the clerk ſtrove to reſt ſome expreſſions for their purpoſe from the reman, to which the others did not conſent, and mſelf was unwilling to anſwer their queſtions lly. J. Parnel was then made to withdraw, and eing called in again, the judge fined him 40l. for ntempt of the magiſtracy and miniſtry, and re-mmitted him to the ſame priſon till he ſhould pay e fine.

The jailer would ſuffer none to come near him ut ſuch as came to abuſe him; and the jailer's wife, ot only ordered her ſervant to beat him, but ſtruck im with her own hands. When his friends ſent im victuals, ſhe ordered the other priſoners to take em; and when a bed was ſent him, ſhe refuſed im the uſe of it, but obliged him to lodge on the amp ſtones. After this he was put into a hole in e caſtle wall, and the ladder placed for the purpoſe f going up to it, being ſeveral feet too ſhort, he as obliged to climb up and ſlide down by a rope to tch his victuals; for when his friends would have ven him a cord and baſket to draw up his food by, e keeper would not ſuffer it. By lying long in at damp hole his limbs became greatly benumbed, that as he was once going up the ladder ith his food in one hand, attempting to catch e rope with the other, he miſſed his aim and ll down, whereby he received ſuch contuſions his head and body that he was taken up for dead.

dead. After this he was put into a hole under-neath the other, there being two ſtories of ſuch narrow vaulted holes in the wall. Thus bruiſed with his fall, and ſhut up where he could hardly breathe, his life appeared in imminent danger; whereupon two of his friends, W. Talcot and Edw. Grant, wealthy tradeſmen of the town, offered to be bound in ſufficient bonds, and Tho. Short-land, another of his friends, offered to lie in priſon in his ſtead, ſo that he might have liberty to go to W. Talcot's houſe till he might recover of his bruiſes; but this was denied. When they were requeſted only to grant him the common privileges of other priſoners, liberty to walk ſometimes in the yard, they would not. It happened once that the door being open, he went out of the hole into a narrow yard between two walls, when the keeper ſhut him in the yard all night, in the extremity of winter. His tender conſtitution ſunk under the hardſhips of his unmerited impriſonment, and after ten or eleven months he died. Thomas Shortland and Ann Lang-ley were preſent at his departure. When death approached, he ſaid, "Here I die innocently;" and a little after turning his head to Thomas, "This death I muſt die, Thomas, I have ſeen great things don't hold me, but let me go." He had repeatedly ſaid one hour's ſleep would cure him of all. His laſt audible words were, "Now I go;" and then ſtretched himſelf out and breathed his laſt. The relentleſs obduracy of his perſecutors ſeems to have been proof againſt every incentive to ſenſations of humanity; no regard to the tenderneſs of his youth, the innocence of his demeanour, the ſolicitations of his friends, or the danger of his dying under their hands, could prevail upon them to relax their rigor-ous treatment. Inſtead of repenting of their cruelty, the apparent cauſe of his death, they raiſed a report that he was the occaſion of his own death, by with-full

lly refraining from food, which was proved abſo-
tely untrue, by the teſtimony of credible witneſſes,
ho were frequently with him during his ſickneſs.

About this time, 1656, William Dewſbury,
avelling in Northamptonſhire, c me to Welling-
rough, where, as he was paſſing along the ſtreet,
e prieſt, Thomas Andrews, called out to him,
Give over deceiving the people, leſt the plagues
God fall upon thee." Being thus in public
arged as a deceiver, he thought himſelf called
on to bring the prieſt to the proof of his charge,
public acknowledgment of his error: for that
rpoſe he went ſoon after to the houſe for
rſhip, and, waiting till the people were diſ-
ſſed, he ſpake to them. Then addreſſing himſelf
the prieſt, he ſaid, "Thou haſt accuſed me of
ceiving the people; prove thy accuſation before
is audience, or acknowledge the falſehood of it."
ut the prieſt, without anſwering, went away: and
illiam was haled out of the houſe into the yard,
here he preached to the people, who ſtood quietly
hear him, till the high conſtable came, and led
m to the market-place, ſaying he would bring
idence againſt him for blaſphemy. After a ſhort
ne he was let go, and lodged at a friend's houſe
at night; but next day a conſtable apprehended
m with a warrant, granted againſt the Quaker,
thout mentioning his name, and took him before
uſtice, who committed him to Northampton jail,
a mittimus which was ſaid to contain a charge of
aſphemy; wherefore William ſolicited for a copy
it; but his requeſt was not granted.

By the ſame mittimus Joſeph Storr, who only
me to hear his friend's examination, and againſt
om there was no accuſation, was ſent to priſon
th him. They were put into a dungeon, twelve
ps under ground, among felons, till the enſuing
arter ſeſſions, at which they were brought before
the

the bench of juſtices, where their mittimus was read; a copy of it again requeſted and refuſed.

No cognizance was taken of their cauſe, but they were remanded to priſon, to lie there till the next aſſizes. At which they were brought before the judges Hale and Windham, and, after a long examination, they were offered their liberty, on condition of their giving bail for their good behaviour and alſo for their appearance at the next aſſizes; which propoſal they were unwilling to comply with, as an unreaſonable demand from them who had given no juſt occaſion for it, being neither convicted nor guilty of ill behaviour. They were recommitted to the ſame dungeon till another aſſize. In the mean time ſeveral of their friends were ſent to bear them company in priſon, in the like arbitrary manner, viz. John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, and Francis Ellington.

J. Whitehead being at Wellingborough, and waiting quietly till the public worſhip was ended, aſked the prieſt, as he came out of the houſe, ſome queſtions about his doctrine and practice, to which he made no anſwer, but in contempt called him madman, and went away: the people generally ſtaying, were ſoon convinced he was not mad; for his powerful preaching impreſſed different ſentiments on their minds. Intelligence of this being carried to the prieſt, he challenged John to a diſpute; but the iſſue mortified him more, becauſe he miſſed his aim which was to get ſome matter of complaint to the magiſtrates. He next wanted John to meet him before a perſecuting juſtice to ſettle the diſpute, but he avoided this ſnare, ſignifying to the prieſt that he muſt appoint ſome other place. He then ſent him notice to meet him at a public lecture, which he accordingly did; and there being ſeveral other miniſters, and many people preſent, he waited quietly till their ſervice was over: then he propoſed

a queſtion

ueſtion to the preachers, which they refuſed to
wer; and Andrews, who had challenged him to
pute, launched out into perſonal invectives againſt
Whitehead, who was not at a loſs to vindicate
character. The prieſts, ſeeing themſelves not
ly to compaſs their deſigns by theſe means, had
ourſe to their laſt argument; for Byfield, prieſt
Torrington, having laid violent hands on John,
dragged him out of the houſe, a warrant was
cured to apprehend him as a vagrant, and he
carried before two juſtices, convened for that
poſe. In contradiction to the charge, he inſiſted
was no vagrant, that he could prove his habita-
n and manner of living by one of his neighbours,
ſpectable man, if they would admit him to come
Upon this Marmaduke Storr was called, who
rmed them of the place of John's reſidence,
that he had a wife and family, whom he main-
ed reputably.

Then they aſked Marmaduke his name and place
abode, and what was his buſineſs in thoſe parts.
gave them full ſatisfaction in theſe points: that
reſidence was in Holderneſs, and his occupation
of a grazier; that his buſineſs there was to be
aſſiſtant to his brother Joſeph Storr, priſoner at
rthampton; and that from thence he propoſed to
ceed into Staffordſhire, to renew the expiring
e of his farm. After ſome conſultation the juſ-
s dropped the pretence of vagrancy, and aſked
rmaduke if he would confirm his teſtimony upon
n; finding he would not, they tendered them
the oath of abjuration. They anſwered, that
y had ſufficiently demonſtrated their good affec-
to the commonwealth, that they were well
wn to be no papiſts, but that they could not
ar for conſcience-ſake. They then required
ties for their good behaviour, and upon their
ſal were committed to priſon, whereby M. Storr
was

was prevented from getting his leaſe renewed; that his family were conſtrained to remove, and carry off the ſtock of his farm at a day's notice, to his great detriment. And theſe, as well as the former, were detained in priſon till the enſuing aſſizes, in the month called July, 1655, when they were brought before Edw. Atkins, judge of aſſize, before whom they paſſed a long examination, for it cannot be properly termed a trial, there being nothing againſt them to found an indictment upon, nor any witneſs produced; an information only was exhibited by the clerk, that William Dewſbury came into the church of Wellingborough, and ſtood there with his hat on: and after the miniſter had done, he ſpoke theſe words, "the prieſts preach for hire, and the people love to have it ſo, and what will you do in the end thereof," with other railing words, which made diſturbance among the people.

The Judge, finding the allegations againſt them too frivolous for his attention, expreſſed his diſpleaſure at being troubled therewith; and though he conducted himſelf towards them with a degree of moderation, yet he recommitted them till the next aſſizes, upon their refuſal to put in bail for their appearance*.

During their impriſonment their friends were not ſuffered to viſit them, but ſeveral who attempted it were taken up and ſent out of town with a pass. about ſix months after their laſt examination, they were diſcharged by an order from Cromwell, after having ſuffered a grievous impriſonment, (the two firſt 15 months) without any juſt cauſe or legal proceſs againſt them.

Tho. Stubbs was another who experienced the illegal ſeverity of the magiſtrates of this county about the ſame time; being concerned to exhort the

* See the trial at large in Beſſe's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 51

inhabita

habitants of Daventry to repentance, he was ſent priſon by a juſtice, of whom, when Thomas re-ired "by what law he proceeded," he received anſwer, "by the law that ſaith all *Quakers* muſt to priſon." On this ill-founded committal he s detained thirteen weeks, till the ſeſſions, at hich he was releaſed, and then ſent out of the unty: returning ſoon after to a meeting at Iſham, was taken thence, and by two juſtices committed bridewell as a vagrant, where he was cruelly hipped, and endured much hardſhip, being not ffered to purchaſe neceſſaries for his money.

Theſe arbitrary proceedings incited E. Burrough, letter, to apply to the Protector, wherein he re-inded him of his vows in the day of his diſtreſs; d that he ſuffered oppreſſion to be practiſed in his me, by unjuſt impriſonments, and perſecutions of aceable people; that he was to be accountable the uſe he made of the power he was inveſted th. It doth not appear that his plain-dealing her drew any marks of reſentment from the Pro-tor, or any interpoſition of his authority, to put top to the perſecution of his friends.

Amongſt the malecontents at this time, John lburn was one of the foremoſt to oppoſe the urpation of Cromwell. This man, originally a ok-binder in London, ranked early with the ertors of civil and religious liberty, on the broadeſt ſe. In his efforts in this cauſe, the ardency of s zeal, and the inflexibility of his temper, render-him obnoxious to puniſhment or proſecution, der the different ſucceſſive government of this e. Cromwell, in defence of his own ſafety, ought it neceſſary to tranſgreſs the boundaries of w, and kept him in priſon through the remainder his government; during which time, being moved m one priſon to another, he was at length con-ed in Dover Caſtle. His long confinement had changed

changed the temper of his mind, from an active a buſtling, to a ſerious and contemplative caſt, a preventing him from converſing in the buſy ſcen of life, furniſhed him with opportunity to be mo converſant with himſelf. In his confinement he becoming acquainted with Luke Howard, an inh bitant of Dover, and converſing with him on re gious ſubjects, Luke gave him ſuch convincing re ſons for his profeſſion, as gained Lilburn's aſſe and brought him over to his ſentiments and profe ſion; in part at leaſt, as appears by the letters th paſſed between him and his wife at this time.

After he had lain ſome time in Dover Caſt Cromwell ſeemed inclined to releaſe him, on co dition of ſigning an engagement not to draw a ſwo againſt his government; but being not yet ſo f convinced, as to believe the uſe of the ſword w unlawful, nor perfectly approving of that point ſelf-denial, he refuſed to purchaſe his liberty on th condition. However, he became in proceſs of tim ſo fully convinced of the unlawfulneſs of war und the Goſpel, as to make the following publication his ſentiments: That being brought to believe in h inward teacher, which ſhall never more be remov into a corner, by the teachings thereof, he was taug to die to ſin, and to the very occaſion and re grounds of outward wars; and was therefore firm perſuaded that he ſhould never thereafter uſe th temporal ſword, nor join with them that did. Th paper was dated from Dover Caſtle, the 4th of month, 1655.

He was continued a priſoner here till Cromwell death, and then being liberated, he continued ſtedfa in the profeſſion of thoſe doctrines he had receiv as truth, and died in London, Anno 1660.

In this year, Anne Downer, of London, bei one of the earlieſt ſufferers in that city, a maiden about thirty years of age, and the firſt perſon of he

x who preached publicly there, for ſome expreſ-
ons againſt the preacher at Stepney, was committed
the houſe of correction, and detained there ten
eeks; and, becauſe ſhe refuſed to work, was beaten
ith a rope's end. She became exceedingly ſer-
iceable in religious ſociety, fitly qualified to exhort
hers, and remarkably exemplary in her Chriſtian
re over perſons in ſickneſs and poverty.

Miles Halhead and Tho. Salthouſe, travelling from
ir reſpective habitations in Lancaſhire and Weſt-
oreland, with intention to viſit their friends impri-
ned in Cornwall, in their paſſage through Devon-
re were apprehended, and after 14 days cloſe
nfinement at Exeter, were, by warrant from Col.
opleſtone, high ſheriff, ordered to be paſſed as va-
nts from thence to their own dwellings. On the
y, between Taunton and Bridgewater, the officer
o had them in charge was ſuddenly ſeized with an
oplectic fit, which diſabled him from proceeding.
ey returned to Taunton, and informed a juſtice of
ce of the caſualty. He thereupon ſuſpended the
ther execution of the warrant, and ſet them at
erty, wiſhing the Lord might be with them.

They went to Briſtol, and returned to Plymouth,
ere they had ſeveral meetings; one of which was
the garden of John Harris, his houſe being too
all to contain the numerous auditory: their pow-
ul miniſtry reached the conſciences of many, and
s generally well accepted. At the cloſe of the
eting, Geo. Brooks, chaplain of the Nightingale
gate, a man of profligate character, ſpoke to the
ple in commendation of what had been deli-
ed. T. Salthouſe, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, re-
rked that he had ſpoken many good words, but
ed him, "Whether his life correſponded with
expreſſions? For that it was he who hath the
neſs in himſelf, that can ſet to his ſeal that
d is true." The prieſt being irritated at this
reproof,

reproof, two days after procured a warrant from t
mayor, by which they were taken from a meeti
at the houſe of Robert Cary, and impriſoned
Guildhall: next day they were brought before t
mayor, magiſtrates, and common council, who o
dered the doors to be ſhut during their examinatio
which laſted three hours; after which they remai
ed in cuſtody ſeveral days, while the magiſtrat
who had determined to ſend them to the cou
gaol, were deliberating how to form a pretence f
their commitment. At firſt they charged them w
denying the Trinity, of which they fully cle
themſelves. Then they tendered them the oat
abjuration, but the proclamation enforcing that o
giving no authority to impriſon any for their ref
they omitted proceeding thereupon. At length
made out their mittimus, grounded on reaſons en
falſe, frivolous, or abſurd.

After ſix weeks impriſonment in Exeter g
they were indicted at the ſeſſions for a "breach
the ordinance againſt duels," and particularly
"divers diſgraceful words and geſtures aga
George Brooks, clerk," &c.

Witneſſes were provided to prove the indictme
one of whom, on his way, was heard to ſay, "I
going to Exeter to ſwear againſt the Quakers,
if ſwearing will do it, I'll make them ſuffer ſoundl
But the court did not chuſe to bring the matte
a hearing; for though they pleaded, and deſire
trial, their plea was refuſed, and no trial grant
but the oath of abjuration was tendered them
court, as a pretext to prolong their impriſonm
In the end, they were fined 5l. each, and commi
to Bridewell till payment, and finding ſureties
their good behaviour.

Purſuant to this ſentence, they were remo
from the county gaol to Bridewell, and a guar
ſoldiers placed over them, with ſtrict orders "to

n all that ſhould come to viſit them, eſpecially if ey were ſuſpected to be Quakers." They lay on e ground, in a cloſe dark room, many days, and ere continued near ſeven months under ſuch cruel age, as had the aſpect of a deſign to deſtroy them: eir perſecutors exerted their endeavours to prevent hers from bringing them the common neceſſaries life, and impriſoned ſeveral of thoſe who came ſee and relieve them. This malice of their emies rendered the charity of their friends the re diſtinguiſhed, who frequently hazarded the s of their own lives, to ſupply the wants of the ſoners.

In the ſame year Margaret Kellam, an innocent man, of a tender conſtitution, good education, d conſiderable property, was treated with great elty, without any juſt occaſion adminiſtered on part. On the 19th of December ſhe went to the ſe of Peter Ceely, mayor of Plymouth, and told ſhe had a word from the Lord to him: he bid come in, heard her, and confeſſed that "what ſaid was very good and true;" yet was ſo diſ-aſed with this truth, that he ſent her to priſon, ained her there about a week, when, at the inter-ion of her friends, ſhe had liberty to return home. t on the 4th of the next month, about four lock in the morning, a conſtable and ſerjeant ne to her chamber, broke open the door, and re-ng to ſhew their warrant, took her away by vio-ce, tied a rope about her, bound her arms behind threw her acroſs a horſe, and tied her feet under belly, and in this manner carried her ten miles. en looſening the cords, they told her they had arrant to carry her to Exeter gaol. There ſhe till the quarter ſeſſions, when endeavours were to get an indictment drawn up againſt her; but clerk and his coadjutors, though deſirous to do nding nothing in her conduct whereon to ground

an indictment, ſhe was releaſed by the ſheriff, afte
an impriſonment of about two months.

About the end of the year 1655, William Baily
a Baptiſt teacher at Pool, was, with others, con
vinced by the miniſtry of G. Fox, from London
and entering into ſociety with the Friends, becam
afterwards an eminent miniſter. G. Fox continue
his journey through Devonſhire, into Cornwall, t
Market-Jew, being accompanied by William Sa
of London, and Edw. Pyott of Briſtol, where h
wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fe
God, and learn of Chriſt the light.

This paper coming into the hands of Peter Ceel
a major in the army, and juſtice of the peace, wh
G. Fox and his companions came to Ives, in Cor
wall, while George was taking a walk by the ſ
ſide, his companions were taken into cuſtody, a
brought before Ceely, to whoſe houſe George fo
followed, where the above-mentioned paper bei
produced, he was aſked whether he would own
and he ſaid, *yes*. Then he tendered him the oa
of abjuration; upon which he drew from his poc
the anſwer to the ſaid oath, which had been giv
to the Protector; nevertheleſs, they were all th
ſent to priſon, under a guard of horſe.

Their guard was a company of unfeeling morta
by ſome of whom they were but rudely treated, a
particularly by their captain, whoſe name was Ke
By theſe men they were guarded to Launceſton, a
there delivered to the keeper of the common ga
who demanded of them ſeven ſhillings a week
their horſes, and the ſame for their own diet ea
Being the firſt of this people ſeen in that neighbo
hood, they excited curioſity in the people, w
when they heard them addreſs every ſingle man,
every degree, with the plain appellation of *thou*
thee; when they ſaw them decline the complim
of the hat and knee to the great; there were ſo

ſo envious or ignorant, as to expect, that at the aſſizes they would be condemned to death, if they declined theſe marks of honour to the bench; yet there were others, who, from different parts of the country, came to viſit and diſcourſe with them; many of whom were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

After nine weeks confinement the aſſizes came on, at which they were brought to their trial, before Chief Juſtice Glyn. They were guarded to the court by a band of ſoldiers and the ſheriff's men, and ſo great was the curioſity of the people to ſee this new kind of priſoners, that the doors and windows were filled with ſpectators, as if to ſee ſome ſtrange ſight. The judge was ſo highly offended at their appearing before him with their hats on, that, when they made the reaſonable demand of juſtice for their impriſonment for nine weeks wrongfully, being taken up without juſt cauſe, in their journey, by Ceely, he refuſed to hear them. Inſtead of granting their demand, an indictment was read, conceived in ſuch terms, that at firſt G. Fox thought it had been againſt ſome thieves; for it aſſerted, that "they came by force and arms, and in an hoſtile, manner, into court," whereas they were brought thither as priſoners, which made them ſay, "it was all falſe," and there ſeems to have been no judicial procedure upon it. Then Ceely falſely charging G. Fox with making him a treaſonable propoſal of raiſing forty thouſand men, to bring in K. Charles, George deſired their mittimus might be read in the face of the country, that the real cauſes of his commitment might appear. This requeſt the judge repeatedly refuſed to comply with. At their next appearance, the priſoners repeated their requeſt to have their mittimus read, and the people appearing deſirous to hear it, one of his fellow priſoners, having a copy, was permitted to read it aloud. Which being done,

G. Fox remarked upon it, that if he would have given ſurety, he might ſtill have been at liberty to carry on the deſign (if he had any) which Ceely charged him with; at the ſame time appealing to the court, whether Ceely had not made himſelf a party in the treaſon, by omitting it in the mittimus, deſiring him to go out of the country, and never charging him with pretended treaſon, nor making any diſcovery thereof till now.

The judge clearly perceiving, that in his accuſation, Ceely, inſtead of enſnaring G. Fox, had enſnared himſelf, let that buſineſs fall. Ceely, finding this intended ſnare broken, accuſed him, that he ſtruck him ſuch a blow as he never had in his life; ſeeming thus to ſport with juſtice, truth, and conſcience, in idle endeavours to criminate innocence with groundleſs abſurdities; for this blow, he alledged himſelf to have received from G. Fox, proved to be nothing more than a merited reproof, for an hypocritical complimenting of him, while he was ſuffering under his malicious impriſonment.

In fine, no ſufficient grounds of legal crimination appearing, the judge, inſtead of diſcharging them, ordered them to be taken away; and in their abſence fined them twenty marks a piece, for coming into the court with their hats on, and ordered them to be detained in priſon till their fines were paid.

Being thus fixed in priſon, upon ſuch a commitment, that there was little probability of their being ſpeedily releaſed, they thought it neceſſary to diſcontinue the weekly payment of ſeven ſhillings a piece for their diet for themſelves, and as much for their horſes, which the jailer had hitherto, in a manner, extorted from them. This defalcation of his oppreſſive gains, ſtirred up the temper of this jailer*. He

* The caſe of the jailer, who had ſo barbarouſly uſed them, is obſervable. He before lay under the infamous character of a thief

He turned them down into a diſmal dungeon, called Doomſdale, uſually appropriated to the reception of atrocious criminals, after their condemnation. This place was noiſome beyond deſcription, it being remarked, that moſt who were confined there loſt their health thereby. They were kept a conſiderable time before he would let them cleanſe it, or ſuffer them to have any victuals but what they got in through the grate, and even this with difficulty.

This treatment continued till the ſeſſions at Bodmin, when, upon repreſenting their caſe to the juſtices, they obtained an order "for opening the door of Doomſdale, and that they might be ſuffered to clean it, and buy their proviſions in the town;" having obtained this liberty, they ſent for Anne Downer, a young woman of London, to come down to buy and dreſs their meat; who became a ſerviceable aſſiſtant to them during their confinement.

While G. Fox lay in priſon, one of his friends offered himſelf to O. Cromwell to lie in priſon in George's ſtead; to which propoſal Cromwell anſwered, "he could not grant it, being contrary to law;" and turning to ſome of his council, queried, "Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the ſame condition?" Upon this, and other applications on their behalf, he ſent an order to the governor of Pendennis Caſtle, to examine into the circumſtances of their caſe: on which occaſion Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, remarked to him, that "he could not give G. Fox a better opportunity for ſpreading his principles in Cornwall, than

thief, and was ſaid to have been burnt in the hand, and in the next year after their releaſe he was turned out of his place, and for ſome crime caſt into jail himſelf, where, for his unruly behaviour, he was by the ſucceeding jailer put into Doomſdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to remember how he had uſed thoſe good men in that naſty dungeon. At length he died in priſon, *poor* and *miſerable*.

by impriſoning him there." The truth of which obſervation the ſequel confirmed, for he was viſited by many perſons of repute, of whom ſeveral embraced his doctrine; one of whom was Thomas Lower, a phyſician of London, who thenceforward entered into community with them. The whole time of their impriſonment was about thirty weeks, when they were diſcharged by an order from Major General Deſborrow.

Their impriſonment was (through the ordering of Providence) conducive to the propagating their principles extenſively through the weſtern counties; not only thoſe who came to viſit them in priſon, and were convinced by G. Fox there; but many others, by the miniſtry of other friends, who being incited by brotherly ſympathy to come from different parts to viſit them, and other friends in priſon here and in the neighbouring counties, were at the ſame time engaged to exerciſe their miniſterial labours as they paſſed along. Their ſucceſs alarmed the prieſts and profeſſors, who inſtigated the magiſtrates to interpoſe their authority to check their progreſs. For which purpoſe the juſtices in Devonſhire made an order of ſeſſions to apprehend, as vagrants, all Quakers travelling without a paſs. They alſo appointed watchmen in the ſtreets and highways, under pretence of taking up ſuſpicious perſons, principally with intention to take up theſe friends on their journey, and to put a ſtop to their preaching; in conſequence whereof, in the ſummer of this year about twenty perſons, male and female, were committed to Exeter gaol. At the aſſizes the men were fined and confined, in like manner as G. Fox had been, for appearing with their hats on; and the women were remanded to priſon till they ſhould find ſureties for their good behaviour. They were lodged among the felons, and lay generally upon ſtraw, by reaſon of which, and the filth of the place

many

many of them fell ſick, and one of them (Jane Ingram) died there.

Theſe magiſtrates and officers, their watchmen, took up not not only ſtrangers, but their own neighbours, travelling about their lawful occaſions. Of thoſe, ſome were cruelly beaten, and others whipped for vagrants, though men of conſiderable property, and not above four or five miles from their habitations. Henry Pollexfen, who had been a juſtice of peace for forty years, and conſequently well known for what he really *was*, they caſt into priſon for a jeſuit.

About this time the Protector thought it neceſſary to convoke a parliament, to ſit on the 17th of September, better adapted to anſwer his purpoſe than thoſe he had before ſummoned.

S. Fiſher, of Lydd, from an impulſe on his mind, was preſent at the opening of this ſeſſions, and heard the Protector's ſpeech, in which he aſſerted, "that he knew not one man that ſuffered impriſonment unjuſtly in all England." S. Fiſher, taking a convenient ſtand, ſaid, that he had a word to ſpeak from the Lord to the Protector, the parliament, and the people; but had not proceeded far, till he was interrupted by an exclamation, "a Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he ſhall not ſpeak." This exclamation is ſaid not to have ariſen from the Protector or members, who diſcovered no diſinclination to hear him, but from two angry juſtices and ſome others, by whom, being interrupted, the Protector aroſe, and the houſe broke up.

Fiſher, by this interruption, being deprived of the opportunity of delivering his meſſage, (to which undertaking apprehending himſelf unequal, he had deſired to be excuſed from it, with faſting, tears, and applications) took the only method left him to eaſe his mind of its burden, by publiſhing in print the ſubſtance of what he intended to have ſpoken;

being a zealous reprehenſion of the hypocriſy of thoſe, who, under a ſhew of godlineſs, made long prayers, and kept frequent faſts; yet at the ſame time lived in pomp and luxury, and perſecuted thoſe who were really pious and conſcientious. With a caution to the Protector, that, "unleſs he took away the wicked from before him, and all flatterers and falſe accuſers, his throne would never be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs."

This parliament paſſed an act againſt vagrants, under which deſcription they comprehended all who were gone from home, and could not give a ſatisfactory account of their buſineſs.

If the Quakers found themſelves before expoſed to tyrannical puniſhment, and cauſeleſs deprivation of liberty, this combination of the legiſlative with the executive power, rivetted their chains, as it deprived them of all hope of redreſs, and exempted their perſecutors from all fear of controul.

Henry Clifton, for only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeſhire, was carried before a juſtice, and after ſome reproach and deriſion, ſent by him to another juſtice four miles diſtant; by whom, without any reaſonable cauſe, he was ſent to priſon, where he lay in the dungeon, among condemned felons, a conſiderable time. Ann Blakely, for openly teſtifying againſt the corruption of the times, was alſo impriſoned at Cambridge, and detained there ſix months; during her impriſonment, two of her friends, R. Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, went to pay her a ſympathetic viſit, and were for this, and no other cauſe, caſt into priſon. After which, R. Hubberthorn, for not departing the town at the mayor's command, was alſo ſent to the houſe of correction for three months.

Thomas Curtis of Reading, woollen-draper, coming to Plymouth upon affairs of trade, went from thence, accompanied by John Martindale, to Weſt

Alvington

Alvington: being in bed at a friend's houſe, a conſtable with attendants came with a warrant at midnight, and next day carried them before two juſtices, who ſent them to Exeter gaol; notwithſtanding, upon their examination they made it appear, that they were travelling upon lawful buſineſs. They were brought before the judge at the enſuing aſſizes, where nothing was laid to their charge; but the judge, taking occaſion from their hats, fined them 40l. each for contempt; for nonpayment of which they were kept priſoners above a year. During his impriſonment, Martindale, having obtained leave of the jailer to viſit a friend at Ilcheſter, went to meeting at Cullington, where he, Humphry Sprague, and Thomas Dyer, lodged at a friend's houſe. In the evening two conſtables came, and required the ſtrangers to go with them, which (they having no warrant) was refuſed. Next morning they came with a warrant, and carried them before the juſtices at the quarter ſeſſions at Honiton, to whom they gave account of their places of abode, being one of them but two miles from home, and another not above five: however, the juſtices ſentenced them as vagrants, to be whipt in the market-place, and ſent with a paſs from tything to tything, which was accordingly done.

G. Whitehead, after his releaſe from Edmundſbury jail, took the opportunity of paying a religious viſit to his friends in London, which was very acceptable, and conducive to the convincement of ſeveral. His ſtay in the city was not long, till he thought it his duty to go back into Eſſex and Suffolk, notwithſtanding his late ſuffering there.

Having travelled through Eſſex and part of Suffolk, he appointed a meeting at Nayland, at a friend's houſe, which being too ſmall for the purpoſe, the meeting was held in the orchard, which many friends from Eſſex and Suffolk, as well as others, attended. While G. Whitehead was in the courſe

of his teſtimony, a perſon, under the character of a gentleman, ruſhed into the meeting with a rude company, pulled him down, and ſome of them, with the conſtable, took him to Aſſington, before John Gurden, who, as ſoon as he appeared before him, began to threaten him. From a law-book he read an abſtract of a ſtatute againſt vagrants, &c. with the penalty appointed for them; and although the priſoner came not under any of theſe deſcriptions, yet he was informed by this juſtice, that "they had ordered him to be whipped at Nayland, and if he came again into the country, he ſhould be branded in the ſhoulder for a rogue; and if he came a third time, he ſhould be hanged." To which menace George replied, "I am no ſuch perſon as thou haſt mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to the grave, and doſt not know how ſoon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and diſappoint thee of thy evil deſigns againſt me: however, I fear not thy threats: if the Lord, whom I ſerve, require my return into theſe parts, I muſt obey him."

The warrant for his puniſhment being ſigned and ſealed by John and Robert Gurden, father and ſon, two juſtices, was delivered to the conſtable, with a charge from R. Gurden, to ſee it executed upon him to purpoſe, at his peril.

The warrant was the next day put in execution. The conſtable procured a man to inflict the puniſhment, who laid on his ſtripes with unmerciful violence, whereby G. Whitehead's back and breaſt were grievouſly cut, and his blood ſhed in abundance. Unreſtrained by the conſtable, the man kept on whipping, till ſome of the ſpectators, who were ſo affected at their cruelty as to drop tears, cried out to ſtop him; whilſt the victim of the juſtices' vengeance was ſo ſupported in patience, ſo filled with inward peace, that his ſpirit was raiſed, and his mouth opened to ſing aloud in praiſe to that divine

being

being, who had counted him worthy to ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs' ſake.

When the hand of the executioner was ſtayed by the cry of the people, G. Whitehead ſtood undreſſed, with his wounds and ſtripes freſh upon him, and addreſſed the ſpectators, informing them, it was a proof of a miniſter of Chriſt patiently to endure affliction, according to the Apoſtle's teſtimony, 2 Cor. vi. "Approving ourſelves as the miniſters of God in much patience, in afflictions, in ſtripes, in imprisonments, in tumults."

After this he mounted his horſe, and was attended by the officers with the warrant and paſs to Sudbury, Clare, Haverill, and to the edge of Cambridgeſhire. When he came to the laſt place, the conſtable, being employed in his neceſſary labour, looking upon the young man, then on the warrant, with ſurpriſe, and conſidering it an unreaſonable burden impoſed upon him by the caprice of two diſtant juſtices, delivered the warrant and paſs to G. W. to convey himſelf whither he might think beſt.

Being ſet at liberty, he returned (notwithſtanding the juſtices menaces) to finiſh his ſervice in thoſe parts. The curioſity of the people being awakened by his late ſufferings, cauſed a great reſort to the meetings where he was, to ſee and hear the young man who was ſo cruelly whipped at Nayland.

Many were tenderly affected towards him, and convinced of the truth of the doctrine he delivered.

Humphry Smith and Samuel Curtis riding together near Axminſter, were ſtopped, and carried before a juſtice; who, upon conſultation with a prieſt, ordered them to be whipt as vagrants, burnt their books and papers, took their money from them, and ſent them away with a paſs.

Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds, of Totneſs, was ſtopped on the road by a drunken fellow, who took away her horſe: ſhe complained to a juſ-

tice, being then about ten miles from home; but having no paſs, the juſtice ſent her to Exeter gaol, ordered her horſe to be ſold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to priſon. Her habitation being in the direct road to Exeter, they took her by another road, ſix miles about, to prevent their injuſtice being expoſed amongſt her neighbours.

Geo. Bewley, John Ellis, and Humphry Sprague, after a meeting at Bridport in Dorſetſhire, were, by the mayor and bailiffs, cauſed to be whipt for vagabonds, and ſent away with paſſes: G. Bewley deſired liberty to go to the inn for his horſe and clothes, but was not ſuffered. When he had gone ſome miles from the town, the officer who conducted him gave him his liberty; whereupon he returned for his horſe and clothes, and the bailiffs cauſed him to be whipped again, and ſent away without them: he returned, went to his inn, paid his hoſt, and was riding out of town, when the bailiffs ordered him to be taken and whipped the third time!! They then ſuffered him to depart with his horſe and clothes.

Under this parliament, J. Naylor ſuffered puniſhment by a moſt rigorous ſentence, unmercifully executed: and though that extravagant conduct, which ſubjected him to thoſe ſufferings, was diſclaimed and cenſured by the generality of thoſe of his own perſuaſion; yet as ſome authors, Hume in particular, inſtance his caſe, almoſt ſingly, as a ſpecimen of Quakeriſm, it ſeems proper to introduce a narrative of the principal occurrences of his life, whereby we may be enabled to form a judgment, how far his miſcarriage ought to be imputed to the Quakers, or their principles.

J. Naylor was born near Wakefield; his father was a huſbandman of good repute, having a competent eſtate. About the age of twenty-two he married, and continued his reſidence near Wakefield

till the civil war broke out in 1641. He then entered into the army, in which he continued eight or nine years, firſt under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-maſter under major general Lambert, till being diſabled by ſickneſs, he returned home about 1649. He was in ſociety with the Independents till 1651, when, being convinced by the miniſtry of G. Fox, he joined in community with the Quakers, and received an excellent gift in the miniſtry. He was ſo preſerved in circumſpection of life, as to confirm his doctrine by his example, and was inſtrumental in turning many from darkneſs to light.

During the ſpace of three years, he continued in clear unity with Friends, and in juſt eſtimation amongſt them, for his works ſake. In the latter end of 1654, or beginning of 1655, he came to London, where he found a meeting already gathered, through the miniſtry of E. Burrough and F. Howgill: there he preached in a manner ſo affecting, that he captivated ſeveral of the more inexperienced part of the auditory, who held his perſon in admiration, and preferred him much above his fellow-laburers. Of theſe were ſome forward females, who carried their impertinence ſo far, as to oppoſe J. Howgill and E. Burrough openly in their miniſtry, to the great diſturbance of the meetings; for which behaviour, they met with merited reproof from theſe diſcerning men, but could not bear the rebuke with patience; for Martha Simmons, with another woman, carried their complaints to J. Nayler, flattering themſelves, that he would not heſitate to give his opinion in their favour; but herein their hope deceived them; for he thought it his duty to diſcourage their complaints, as tending to ſow diſcord between brethren. This diſappointment proved a trial too ſevere for Martha's impatient ſpirit to ſuſtain, ſhe immediately vented her paſſion in lamentation and weeping. Theſe paſſionate expreſ-

ſions

ſions of ſorrow moved Naylor's pity, and left an im-
preſſion on his mind, which reſulted into a deep
melancholy, under the effect whereof he became be-
wildered in his underſtanding; and eſtranged from his
beſt friends, who were concerned to admoniſh him
of his danger; being exalted, in ſpiritual pride, to
a great degree.

G. Fox being releaſed from Launceſton in the
ſummer of 1656, on the night of his arrival at Exe-
ter, viſited his friends in priſon there, where J. Nay-
lor was alſo confined, and particularly admoniſhed
him of the deluſion he and his partiſans were fallen
into; but James ſlighted this admonition: for his
ranting adherents in their letters to him, at this time
addreſſed him with appellations not fit to be attri-
buted to any mortal: and three of theſe ſilly wo-
men, in this priſon, kneeled before him, and kiſſed
his feet. After his releaſe, riding into Briſtol, one
Tho. Woodcock went before him bareheaded, a wo-
man led his horſe; and the three women before
mentioned, ſpread their handkerchiefs and ſcarfs be-
fore him, ſinging in imitation of the Hoſanna before
our Saviour riding into Jeruſalem. Here they were
carried before the magiſtrates, by whom being ex-
amined, they were committed to priſon. Upon
ſearch, ſome of thoſe extravagant letters were found
in his poſſeſſion, with others of a different ſtrain
from his former friends; the former were divulged
to aggravate his offence, the latter, not anſwering
any purpoſe of his *proſecutors*, ſeem to have been
ſuppreſſed. Not long after, he was tranſmitted to
London to be examined by the parliament, who
judged theſe ſenſeleſs enormities of a few deluded
individuals, of ſufficient conſequence to engage the
attention for ten days! Debates ran high, many of
the members being averſe to the ſeverity of the mea-
ſures taken againſt him; but the majority (to whom
J. Naylor's zeal in his writings and diſcourſes, re-
prehendin

prehending pretences to religion, deformed by immorality in life) had given offence, actuated by vindictive motives, to gratify private hatred under the colour of public juſtice, on the 17th of December paſſed the following dreadful ſentence upon him.

"That J. Naylor be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the palace-yard, Weſtminſter, during the ſpace of two hours, on Thurſday next, and be whipped by the hangman through the ſtreets from Weſtminſter to the Old Exchange, London, and there likewiſe be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the ſpace of two hours, between the hours of ſeven and one, on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inſcription of his crimes, and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there alſo ſtigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and be conveyed to and through the ſaid city on horſeback, with his face backward, and there alſo publicly whipped the next market day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to priſon, in Bridewell, London, and there reſtrained from the ſociety of all people, and there to labour hard, till he ſhall be releaſed by parliament, and during that time be debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and ſhall have no relief but what he gains by his daily labour."

Many (not Quakers) eſteeming the ſentence exorbitantly ſevere, for a crime proceeding more from diſordered underſtanding than a malignant intention, ſolicited the parliament in his favour, but to purpoſe: for after the ſentence was paſſed, the ſpeaker was authorized to iſſue his warrants to the ſheriffs of London, Middleſex, and Briſtol, and the keeper of Bridewell, to ſee the judgment put in execution.

The very next day, viz. on the 18th of December, the firſt part was ſeverely executed. This cruel torture he endured with patience, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators. The 20th of the ſame month, was the day appointed for the execution of the ſecond part of his ſentence; but he was reduced to

ſuch

ſuch weakneſs by the execution of the firſt par
that many perſons of note, compaſſionating his co
dition, interpoſed in his favour by petition to th
parliament, and obtained a reſpite of one week, du
ing which interval a ſecond petition was preſente
to the houſe by about a hundred perſons; but th
ſame temper, which had dictated the ſentence, reſi
ing all ſolicitation for mitigating it, obliged the
petitioners to endeavour, by an addreſs to the Pro
tector, to obtain from him that favour, they cou
not from the parliament; whereupon he wrote a le
ter to the houſe, which occaſioned ſome debate, b
no reſolution in favour of the priſoner. Findi
their interpoſition hitherto ineffectual, the petitio
ers preſented a ſecond addreſs to the protector; bu
it is ſaid, the public preachers, by their influenc
prevented its effect. However, it is probable th
theſe petitions of perſons unconnected with the d
fender in religious community, conveyed a plain i
dication to his adverſaries, that their ſeverity was n
generally approved. Wherefore five of the not
public preachers, Caryl, Nye, Manton, Griffith, a
Reynolds, by order of the parliament, (as it was ſai
viſited J. Naylor in priſon to treat with him co
cerning thoſe offences for which he was detaine
and bring him to a ſenſe thereof, as if to varni
over the deformity of their proceedings, with a c
lour of intending only the reformation of the ma
for theſe men would admit no friend of his, nor a
other perſon into the room, though requeſted, up
which Naylor inſiſted that what paſſed ſhould be p
in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailer,
which (in order to draw ſuch anſwers from him
they wanted) they conſented. The reaſon of t
making this demand, was an apprehenſion he had
an inſidious deſign, as they would ſuffer no impart
perſon to be preſent at the conference, and the reſ
ſeems to manifeſt his fears not groundleſs; for af

me diſcourſe, perceiving they were endeavouring
wreſt words from him, to pervert to his crimina-
on, in order to furniſh ſome colour of juſtification
the public, he remarked to them, "They had ſoon
rgot the work of the biſhops, who were now tread-
g the ſame ſteps, ſeeking to enſnare the innocent."
hereupon they roſe up in a rage, burned what they
d written, and left him to undergo his unmerciful
ntence.

At the expiration of his reſpite, on the 27th of
ecember, the ſecond part of his ſentence was ex-
uted. The ſpectators, who were numerous, be-
ved with decency, ſeeming generally affected at
unchriſtian treatment. He was afterwards ſent
Briſtol, and there whipped from the middle of
homas-ſtreet, over the bridge up High-ſtreet, and
he middle of Broad-ſtreet, all which he bore with
oniſhing patience: thence he was ſent the back
y to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bride-
ll, London, purſuant to his ſentence, and was
re detained a priſoner about two years. After
releaſe he publiſhed his recantation.

Sundry other papers which he publiſhed during
impriſonment, and after, confirm the ſincerity
his repentance; and ſo deeply was the ſenſe of
fall impreſt on his mind, that during the remain-
of his life he was a man of great ſelf-denial, and
diffident of himſelf. Taking his departure
n London in the fall of 1660, in order to go home
is family at Wakefield, he travelled on foot as
as Huntingdon, and was obſerved by a friend as
aſſed through the town in ſuch a ſolemn frame, as
oke him a man redeemed from the earth. He
t not many miles from Huntingdon, before he
taken ill; being reported to have been robbed
left bound; and being found in a field by a
ntryman toward evening, he was removed to a
d's houſe at Holm, not far from King's Rip-

pon

pon, where he was attended by Tho. Parnell, a phy
ſician of that town, and not long after departed th
life in peace, about the ninth month (November
1660, in the forty-fourth year of his age.*

G. Fox, coming up from Exeter, after his relea
from Launceſton jail, by Briſtol to London, abo
this time, ever vigilant "to guard the people he h
been made inſtrumental to gather into a ſociety,
againſt every danger, wrote them a ſhort caution o
this occaſion, to beware of that diſpoſition whi
hath a life in contention; to forbear mutual aggr
vation, which breeds confuſion, but to let their m
deration, temperance, and patience, appear to a
men. His care was exerciſed towards all, the we
eſpecially, to whom I apprehend this caution w
addreſſed, for except a few weak members, the ho
at large took no part with J. Naylor.

This year (1656) died John Camm, of Camm's-gi
in the Barony of Kendal, in Weſtmoreland, who,

* The following expreſſions, uttered by him about two ho
before his departure, evidence the peaceful and even tenor of
mind at this ſolemn period.

"There is a ſpirit which I feel, that delights to do no e
nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things
hopes to enjoy its own to the end: its hope is to outlive
wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and c
elty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itſelf. It ſees to
end of all temptation: as it bears no evil in itſelf, ſo it e
ceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed it b
it; for its ground and ſpring is the mercies and forgiven
God: its crown is meekneſs, its life is everlaſting love unfe
ed, and takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with co
tion, and keeps it by lowlineſs of mind. In God alone it
rejoice, though none elſe regard it, or can own its life:
conceived in ſorrow, and brought forth without any to pit
nor doth it murmur at grief and oppreſſion. It never rejo
but through ſufferings, for with the world's joy it is mu
ed: I found it alone, being forſaken; I have fellowſhip th
with them who lived in dens and deſolate places in the e
who through death obtained this reſurrection and eternal
life."

para

rating from the national worſhip of that time, with veral others, formed a ſelect aſſembly at Firbank apel and other places, amongſt whom he ſome- nes officiated as a miniſter. Here it was that he, th the greater part of that congregation in the eting which G. Fox had there in 1652, was hap- y prevailed with to turn the attention of his mind re cloſely to the manifeſtation of the ſpirit, which recommended, as a certain guide from darkneſs light.

He was amongſt the firſt of thoſe preachers who velled into different parts of the nation to propa- e the goſpel, in which ſervice he was careful not make the goſpel chargeable, having an eſtate of own. His firſt journey was through the north- counties to the borders of Scotland; his next, in pany with F. Howgill, to viſit O. Cromwell, on alf of their brethren under perſecution. After- ds he travelled in company with E. Burrough, ough the middle of the nation to London, where y met with their countrymen J. Audland, F. wgill, R. Hubberthorn, and others from different s. From thence J. Audland and he became fel- travellers to Briſtol, where their united miniſtry effectual to the reformation of many hundreds, efore related. But the fatigue of his travels and ur proved too great for his bodily ability to ſuſ- without feeling the natural effects thereof, his litution, naturally weak, being thereby reduced a gradual decline.

he morning he departed this life, he called his and family, to whom he imparted ſolid inſtruc- to love and ſerve the Lord, and to walk circum- ly in his fear, adding, that "his glaſs was run; ime of his departure was come; he was to en- nto everlaſting joy and reſt;" charging them all be patient and content in his removal;" pre- y after fainting, he ſeemed to paſs quietly away;

where-

whereupon ſome about him, weeping aloud,—as o
awakened out of ſleep, he expreſſed himſelf again
theſe words: "My dear hearts, you have wron
me and diſturbed me, for I was at ſweet reſt: y
ſhould not ſo paſſionately ſorrow for my departu
this houſe of clay muſt go to its place, but this ſ
and ſpirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to l
with him for ever, where we ſhall meet with e
laſting joy." So again taking his leave of th
and repeating his charge, he lay down and died,
the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

G. Fox, being near to London, ſeeing a concou
of people, found they were gathered to ſee the P
tector paſs by; and as the perſecution of friends c
tinued unabated, he rode up to the coach ſide
ſpeak with him thereupon, continuing in diſcou
with him on the ſubject till they came to Jam
park gate, and at parting, Cromwell deſired hi
come to him at Whitehall: he accordingly went
ther, accompanied by Edw. Pyott, where they op
ed the ſubject more fully.

About the ſame time E. Burrough alſo, find
his former applications ineffectual, wrote ſev
epiſtles to Oliver on the ſame ſubject: but, like
mer applications, they were received with appa
cordiality, yet perſecutions were carried on wit
redreſs. Cromwell's attention about this period
engroſſed by a ſubject much nearer his heart
redreſſing the grievances of this ſociety: parliam
entirely devoted to his intereſt, had complime
him with the offer of the crown.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, appl
tions, by perſonal interviews and by letters,
made to the Protector by divers of this peop
favour of their perſecuted brethren, laying be
him a full narrative of their grievances, which,
he not only pleaded ignorance of, but pretende
to believe, two of them, T. Aldam and A. Pea
under

lertook the laborious taſk of viſiting all or moſt of jails in England, to prove by authentic docu-nts the truth of their repreſentations; which ing done, they laid the ſame before O. Cromwell; declined to comply with their requeſt in behalf he ſufferers, which was to give order for their re-. It was upon this occaſion that T. Aldam, tak-off his cap, tore it, ſaying, "ſo ſhall thy govern-t be rent from thee and thy houſe."

he public preachers at this time, both to palliate promote perſecution againſt the Quakers, took s to repreſent them as a people involved in er-and particularly to Cromwell and others in au-ity: for which reaſon E. Burrough, in a letter e Protector, propoſed that theſe teachers might rected to ſtate their objections to the Quakers ines in plain terms; and that by divine permiſ-hey ſhould receive a ſuitable anſwer. But we no account that this propoſal was acceded to liver or his teachers: the latter found it eaſier l than to reaſon; and their hatred of this peo-mpelled them to endeavour the ſuppreſſing of by rigour, rather than convincing them by ar-nt. Perſecution continued unabated till Crom-death, which happened on the 3d of Septem-is year.

e ſame compaſſion for the hardſhips ſuſtained eir ſuffering brethren, which had animated ſe-of this community to make applications to the rotector for redreſs of their grievances, pro-ſimilar applications to his ſon and ſucceſſor rd Cromwell. Very ſoon after his advance-o the Protectorate, E. Burrough communicat-a letter to him, a relation of the ſufferings of s: but this remonſtrance met with the ſame rd as former applications; the perſecution of uakers received no check in conſequence there-t I can find. But, as in this interval between Cromwell's

Cromwell's death and the reſtoration of Charles I through the ſtruggles of the contending parties, t nation was almoſt in a ſtate of anarchy; groſs abu of the licentious rabble, inſtigated by the calumn of their prieſts againſt the Quakers, were added the ſeverity of perſecuting magiſtrates, who, confining themſelves to the abuſe of individu began to attack theſe devoted people in their pub aſſemblies, of which we have many inſtances in t and the ſucceeding year.*

Many of theſe abuſes being committed on the day of the week, with impunity, under a gove ment, and by a people who pretended to make point to obſerve it in many caſes beyond the ſtr neſs which the moſaical law appointed for obſer the ſeventh. The magiſtrates and teachers not let ſuch riots paſs unpuniſhed and uncenſured, too often abetted them, and at the ſame time con ed ſeveral of theſe people as ſabbath-breakers, riding a few miles to a religious meeting on firſt day of the week.

In this year the nation was in great commot Party animoſities revived with additional heat. officers of the army, the republicans, and roya waiting the favourable ſeaſon to promote a rev tion in ſupport of their own power. G. Fox citouſly concerned for the preſervation of his fri and fearful leſt any unexperienced people, might ſometimes come amongſt them, ſhoul drawn into aſſociations with one or other of parties, wrote an epiſtle of caution, wherein h moniſhes his friends to live in love and peace all men, to keep clear of all the commotions o world, and not to intermeddle with the powe the earth, but to let their converſation be in he to let the innocence of their lives and their co

* Vide Beſſe's Sufferings of the Quakers, 2 vols. fol

man

anifeſt to all the ſpirit of the goſpel of Chriſt: and thus remarks: "All that pretend to fight for hriſt are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this orld, therefore his ſervants do not fight. All that etend to fight for the goſpel are deceived; for the ſpel is the power of God unto ſalvation," 'and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic thereof is peace on th and good will towards men;' (he ſeems to have Millenarians in view, who had brought themves to a belief, that the time was come to erect a h monarchy, or the reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon th, and that they were obliged in conſcience to their endeavours to promote it, even by force.) Afterwards a printed account of their ſufferings s preſented to parliament, exhibiting a relation of ve 140 then in priſon, and of 1900 who had ſufed in the laſt ſix years, 21 of whom had died in ſon, by hardſhip or by violent abuſes.

A printed paper was afterwards preſented to the liament, ſubſcribed by 164 of this people, where- referring to the account of their ſufferings before ſented) they offer themſelves freely to lie in priinſtead of ſuch of their brethren as were under finement, and might be in danger of loſing their s from the extremity of their impriſonment, as ral of their brethren had done.

Commotions ſtill continued in the nation: and . Booth, in Cheſhire, riſing in arms in favour of exiled monarch, the committee of ſafety invited Quakers to take up arms, offering conſiderable mands to ſome of them: but they eſteeming war nſiſtent with chriſtianity; the proſpect of worldvancement had no place with them to turn them from the undeviating purſuit of a point, in their , of higher importance; the endeavouring to re to themſelves admiſſion into that kingdom, h is higher than all the kingdoms of this world. ſome unſettled perſons who at times ſeemed to aſſociate

aſſociate with them, appearing inclined to compl with theſe propoſals, and take up arms under Gen ral Lambert, G. Fox found it his duty, by an epiſt to caution them againſt it, and his concern for the preſervation had the deſired effect.

E. Burrough wrote to the ſucceſſive governors the nation, and in ſundry letters was concerned tell them (particularly in one to the parliament th ſitting) that if they deſiſted not from perſecuting t innocent, their power would be cut ſhort, which t event proved to be a true prediction.

During this time of anarchy, the meetings of th people being frequently diſturbed by the popula as before remarked; and when General Monk marc ed up to London, ſome of the ſoldiers under his co mand having been guilty of ſuch diſturbance, a co plaint was made to the general, which met with b ter ſucceſs than ſimilar applications to thoſe in a thority before had generally done, as it produced i following order.

"*St. James's, March 9th*, 16

"I do require all officers and ſoldiers to forb to diſturb the peaceable meetings of the Quake they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament commonwealth of England.

GEORGE MON

Beſides the perſonal injuries they ſuffered, t were alſo expoſed to great ſpoil in their property, unreaſonable fines and diſtraints on divers accou eſpecially for their refuſal to pay tithes, which preſent preachers (notwithſtanding their repreſe ing them as a relict of Judaiſm, when in the poſ ſion of the Epiſcopalians) being gotten into the p ſeſſion of, were as rigorous in their exaction as t predeceſſors.

To record all their ſufferings for their teſtimony againſt the propriety of theſe demands under the chriſtian diſpenſation would fill many volumes: ſufficient may be ſeen in Joſeph Beſſe's hiſtory of them.

Though this people are ſingle in their oppoſition againſt the legality of tithes under the goſpel, yet many others before them, and many cotemporary with thoſe of the firſt generation, looked upon this relict of Judaiſm to be aboliſhed with the law which appointed them. That in the pure ages of the church they were neither paid nor demanded. That they were eſtabliſhed among the corruptions introduced in the darkneſs of a declining age, and wreſted from the people to the ſole uſe of the clergy, and were by many of that age eſteemed a relict of popery. When the diſſenting teachers, by the revolutions of the ſtate, became of the eſtabliſhment, and ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the Epiſcopalians, they were as tenacious of the power, privileges, and incomes of the sacerdotal office, and as oppreſſive in exacting them from thoſe, who from a conſcientious ſcruple withheld them, as thoſe that went before, proving that prieſtcraft, under every name or profeſſion, is the ſame.

Other denominations, to evade ſuffering, gave up the conteſt; but the Quakers ſtill maintain their teſtimony in this caſe for primitive purity, and therefore rather chooſe to ſuffer ſome loſs of property, than violate their conſciences by actively upholding a practice which they eſteem to be virtually forbidden by Chriſt.

Being now advanced to a period, wherein a thorough revolution in the government of the nation took place, by the reſtoration of Charles II. and having confined the narrative to England, as the principal ſcene of action, it ſeems a proper time to relate the ſteps taken by members of this ſociety to

propagate their doctrines, and the reception they m with in other parts.

CHAP. III.

WALES.

IN the year 1653, while G. Fox and his fello labourers were employing their miniſterial bours in the northern parts of England, Morg Floyd, prieſt of Wrexham, in Denbighſhire, ſ two of his congregation into the north, to make quiry concerning this new ſect; who, upon conf ring with them, were ſo affected with their diſcou and miniſtry, that they were both convinced of th principles, abode with them ſome time, and then turned. One of them, named John Ap-John, ſo time after received a gift in the miniſtry, and c tinued a ſerviceable member of the ſociety, a ſharer with his brethren in the tribulations of t day.

For in 1655, being in the public worſhip-ho at Swanſea, after the preacher had ended his ſerm he aſked him, whether he was a miniſter of Chri this queſtion gave great offence both to the prie whom it was addreſſed, and another who was ſent; this latter inſtantly ſeized John by the co and without ſuffering him to ſpeak another w dragged him out and delivered him to a conſta who confined him that night in a cloſe dark pri Next day he was brought before the magiſtrates, ſiring "to have him whipped, that the devil m come out of him:" and as often as he attempte ſpeak, one or other of the prieſts would ſtrike

d ſtop his mouth with their hands. At length he s ſent to priſon under a general charge of miſbe-aviour, no particular cauſe of impriſonment being pecified in the mittimus.

In 1654, Thomas Holmes travelled into Wales, ing reputed to be the firſt miniſter among the akers who preached in that principality; of his rvice I do not meet with very particular accounts, t there is reaſon to believe it was effectual to the nvincement of ſeveral, as in 1656, from ſeven per-ns of this ſociety in Glamorganſhire, for 8l. 10s. demanded for tithes, their goods were taken by reſs to the amount of 28l. 8s. Nine others in norſhire ſuffered in a ſimilar way.

n the beginning of 1657, G. Fox firſt viſited e parts of Wales. From Briſtol going to Car-, a juſtice of peace ſent him a meſſage, deſiring with half a dozen of his friends, would come to houſe; accordingly he went, and met with a rteous reception. The next day he had a meet-here, which, notwithſtanding ſome attempted to rb it, was held to good ſatisfaction.

t Swanſea alſo his labour was bleſſed with ſuc-, and a ſettled meeting eſtabliſhed there. At knock he met with rude treatment from the lace, ſtimulated to riot by the magiſtrates. t morning he wrote a paper to the town, to point heir unchriſtian-like behaviour.

om hence he went to a great meeting held in a e yard, to which many came, and amongſt the Walter Jenkin, who had been a juſtice, accom-d by another juſtice. His miniſtry here was tual to the convincement of many. After the ing, he went with Walter Jenkin to the afore-juſtice's houſe, who expreſſed his approbation is ſervice, ſaying, "you have this day given ſatisfaction to the people, and anſwered all the tions that were in their minds."

He next proceeded to Pontemoil, and had a meeting there, at which so many were convinced, that a meeting was gathered and established in these parts. From hence he returned to England.

This people in Wales bore a share of the afflictions of their brethren, in imprisonments and personal abuse; in the disturbance of their meetings, in distresses for tithes, &c. &c. Although some of these were severe enough, particularly the sufferings of John Ap-John and Elizabeth Holmes, yet, to avoid prolixity on a subject every where supplying abundant matter for reflection, I pass on to

SCOTLAND.

THE earliest meetings in Scotland were held about the year 1653; when several serious inquirers into the nature of true religion began to separate from the public assemblies, and to meet together in silence. As they were thus exercised in awful humility of soul, they came to experience the power and influence of the spirit of God, enabling some of them to speak forth his praise, and from a sense of his goodness to become instrumental for the edification of others.

The first natives of this country, who distinguished themselves as preachers among this people, were William Osborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton: this A. Hamilton, with his wife and six had been members of a society of Independents whereof Tho. Chartres was the teacher. Their departure from the church was regretted by the rest of the society, being persons esteemed for their religious deportment, and Chartres would willingly have induced them to come again and sit under his teaching but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he then

ed them with excommunication, and appointed a
for paſſing that ſentence, giving A. Hamilton
evious notice thereof. Hamilton warned him "to
bear, leſt the anger of the Lord ſhould be provok-
againſt him." This caution Chartres regarded
, but anſwered, "it is but *A. Hamilton* that ſays
" to which Hamilton, in the preſence of many
neſſes, replied, that "what he had ſaid, was of
Lord." Chartres perſiſted in his reſolution,
ich he was prevented from putting into execution,
a remarkable manner. About two days before
time fixed for pronouncing the ſentence of ex-
mmunication, as he was walking in the grave
rd, where his horſe was grazing, he ſtept to him
ſtroke him, when the horſe gave him ſuch a vio-
nt kick on the ſide, as occaſioned his death about
ſame hour in which he had purpoſed to paſs the
ſentence.

Some of the firſt of this people from England,
travelled into Scotland, were Chriſtopher Fell,
orge Wilſon, John Grave, Sarah Chevers, and
harine Evans; alſo Miles Halhead, and J. Lan-
er, who, in 1654, being at Dumfries, and M.
head, after the prieſt had ended, teſtifying againſt
hypocriſy of the people, they were ſo enraged,
they forced him and his companion out of the
n to the ſide of a river, intending to have ſtoned
n; but they, by wading through the river, eſca-
after which they were at Edinburgh and Leith
t ten days, where Miles delivered to the officers
he army and garriſons his meſſage, which was,
"the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt
n, becauſe they had not performed their promiſes,
h they made to him in the day of their diſtreſs,
n the enemies compaſſed them on every ſide, for
the Lord delivered them and gave them the vic-
; but they had returned him evil for good, and
mitted violence againſt thoſe he had ſent to declare

his word amongſt them." Thence they went to Glaſgow and Sterling, and returned to England.

In 1655, W. Caton and J. Stubbs viſited the brethren in Scotland, adminiſtering ſuch counſel in their low condition at that time, tended to edification. J. Stubbs returning to England, W. Caton went to Sterling, where he was taken before the governor, who at firſt accoſted him in an angry manner, but William, by his ſoft anſwers, appeaſed his wrath. He was alſo at Glaſgow, and went into the cathedral there, where, after their worſhip was ended, he had an opportunity of ſpeaking to the people in the yard, the Engliſh ſoldiers, in garriſon there, not permitting any injury to be done to him. He was likewiſe at Douglas, where he preached with much oppoſition.

In October, 1657, G. Fox was at Edinburgh, where he was ſummoned to appear before the council.

He appeared, and after examination, they told him, that "he muſt depart the nation of Scotland that day ſevennight." Nevertheleſs, he continued travelling through ſeveral parts of that country, preaching among the people whereſoever he came, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh.

Stephen Criſp travelled into Scotland to preach the goſpel there in 1659.

The goſpel-teſtimony of theſe faithful witneſſes reached to the conſciences of many who heard them, but met with a virulent oppoſition from the prieſts.

The beginning of this convincement was by means of the miniſtry of W. Dewſbury, effectually reaching the hearts of ſome noted profeſſors in Aberdeen, particularly Alex. Jaffray, who had been chief magiſtrate of that city, and a man greatly eſteemed among the higheſt profeſſors of religion there; as Alex. Gelly, Margaret Molleſon, wife of Gilb

Molleſ

Molleſon, a magiſtrate of Aberdeen; Elizabeth Goodall, wife of Andrew Goodall, merchant of the ſame place; Margaret Scott, wife of John Scott, alſo a magiſtrate of that city; and ſome others, eminent for their ſober conduct.

Alex. Jaffray, ſoon after his convincement, in the beginning of 1663, was induced to remove into the country to live at Inverary, and was inſtrumental to ſettle a meeting there: by means whereof, ſome there, hearing the joyful ſound of truth, gladly cloſed therewith; among whom were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robertſon.

About the ſame time were alſo convinced, George Gray and Agnes Simon, perſons of repute among the profeſſors in thoſe parts, as to their religious abilities and good converſation, ſo that the prieſt of the pariſh where they dwelt, Samuel Walker, at Monkeggie, boaſted of them, ſaying, that "he had a weaver and a poor woman, whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equalize either for knowledge and good life: but ſhortly after, both theſe his hearers, of whom he was ſo highly opinionated, withdrew from under his teachings, and joined the Quakers.

Agnes Simon readily opened her houſe for the keeping of religious meetings, and the neighbouring people flocked to the aſſemblies held there near Arnarrald, inſomuch that her houſe could not contain them, (ſhe being but a poor woman) and they met in the open field, where Patrick Livingſtone was made a bleſſed inſtrument, with ſome others, to turn many to Chriſt, experiencing the quickening power and virtue of his ſpirit to raiſe them from death to life. For the ſtrengthening of theſe, Elizabeth Johnſton became a conſiderable inſtrument.

This convincement, cauſing many to withdraw from ſitting under their teachings, alarmed the prieſts of Aberdeen; who, by calumnies vented from the

pulpits, laboured to incenſe the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs this people, and to raiſe, among the ruder of their hearers, a ſpirit of indignation. Hence it was, that when any of this perſuaſion came thither, they were received by the populace with ſtoning, and other lawleſs abuſes, which the magiſtrates, inſtead of reproving, did too often countenance: they ſhut up Richard Roe, a ſhoemaker of Edinburgh, in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, and kept him cloſe priſoner ſix months.

ISLE OF MAN.

THE magiſtrates of this iſland being early prepoſſeſſed with prejudice againſt the Quakers, made laws againſt them at their firſt arrival there, one of which was for baniſhing all of that perſuaſion, whether natives or others; accordingly Catharine Evans was taken out of her bed by night, and ſent away. J. Lancaſter was alſo expelled the iſland, for no other reaſon than his going under the name of a Quaker. Peter Coſnock, his ſon, and ſeveral others, were impriſoned at Caſtlepeel, by order of William Chriſten, a magiſtrate; from thence they were removed to Douglas, and baniſhed. They applied to Lord Fairfax for leave to return, but he would not grant it, though ſome of them were born there. At length, upon application to the parliament, ſuch as were inhabitants of the place, were permitted to return.

William Callow was detained eight weeks in priſon for reproving a prieſt, whom he had heard abuſing the Quakers in his ſermon. Several were taken out of a meeting on the firſt day of the week, and ſet in the ſtocks four hours in the market place; others were fined, of whom were W. Callow, John Chriſten

Chriſten, and Evan Keruſh; from the two former were taken ten buſhels of oats by diſtreſs, which were laid in a barn*. On the next firſt day, after ſermon, the prieſt gave notice for the poor to go to the barn for corn, which the governor had ordered to be diſtributed amongſt them; ſome of the poor people, his own hearers, anſwered, "that it had been more charity to have given his own goods to the poor than other men's, and that they would receive none of it." However, ſome went to the place with the prieſt and ſoldiers, and W. Callow went alſo. The prieſt called to the poor ſeveral times to hold their bags, but none of them would; at this he grew angry, and looking ſternly at W. Callow, called to the people, "Why don't you take the corn? Is there any one here that hath aught to do with this corn, or ſaith it may not be given to the poor?" this he ſaid to provoke from William ſome expreſſion; but he held his peace. The poor ſtood ſtill a while, and then withdrew, one by one, leaving the corn with the prieſt and ſoldiers. On the following firſt day, the parſon again publiſhed the corn for diſtribution, ſignifying how much the governor was diſpleaſed that they had not taken it before. For fear of the governor and the prieſt, ſome poor people went, but only one of them would take any, and he vauntingly ſaid to the reſt, "You are ſo proud you will not take it! I have got this, and there will be more of his goods taken before this be eaten, and then I'll get more;" but it happened, that before he had eaten what he took, he was taken away by death. The reſt of the corn lay till it was ſpoiled, for nobody would take it.

* This barn belonged to William Chriſten, an officer under Lord Fairfax, but falling afterward under his diſpleaſure for ſome miſdemeanour, he was ſhot to death on the iſland. In his laſt ſpeech he mentioned with much regret his evil treatment of the Quakers.

W. Callow and ſeveral others, for two-pence each, demanded by the prieſt for bread and wine, were impriſoned by a warrant from James Challoner the governor, from whom alſo in September this year, the prieſt procured another warrant for the impriſonment of W. Callow and Evan Chriſten, for refuſing to pay tithes. One morning early, as they came on ſhore, after being all night at ſea, (for they were fiſhermen) they were hurried to priſon in their wet clothes, and detained ſeveral days in the midſt of their herring fiſhery, the moſt advantageous ſeaſon for their buſineſs.

IRELAND.

THE firſt of this people in Ireland, was William Edmundſon, who came over in the way of trade and being ſoon after convinced, was inſtrumental to the convincement of others, before any of their miniſters came over from England.

He was born at Little Muſgrave in Weſtmoreland, in 1627. In his minority, he was often ſeriouſly affected with conſideration about a future ſtate; and as his age and faculties advanced toward maturity, his deſires after everlaſting felicity increased in proportion. About 1650 he entered into the parliament's army. During the campaign in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, the ſalvation of his ſoul fixing more deeply in his mind, he grew weary of a military life, and laid down his arms, to be more at liberty to engage in the ſpiritual warfare. In 1651 he returned from Scotland into England and was quartered in Derbyſhire; which being about the time of G. Fox's releaſe from Derby jail, he, and the people who had there lately received the denomination of Quakers, were become a gener-

top-

opic of converſation, and variety of reports were ropagated concerning them, ſome in their favour, nd many to their diſadvantage: upon the compari- on, William, before he knew them, found his eart inclined to the favourable ſide.

About this time he entered into the married ſtate, tending to ſettle in Derbyſhire; but at the perſua- on of his brother John, who was then a ſoldier in eland, he removed thereto. Landing in Dublin, e was ſtrongly importuned to ſettle in that city, aving the inviting proſpect of a briſk trade and low nt, it being ſoon after the plague had left many ouſes uninhabited.—But he writes that he was ſcued by a ſecret hand, which he then knew not, om the deceitfulneſs of riches, being, by his fol- wing experience, brought into the perſuaſion, that cloſing in with the tempting proſpect, he might ve been diverted from the principal object; a life religious devotion to the ſervice of his Creator.

From Dublin he removed to the north, and took his reſidence in Antrim, in or near which his other was quartered; and quickly diſpoſing of goods, he went over to England to lay in a freſh ck, and in his travels through the north he heard t G. Fox and J. Naylor were then in thoſe parts, ich raiſed his deſire to hear one or other of them. ing to a meeting where J. Naylor was, his words re not many, though they were powerful, reach- the divine witneſs in his conſcience: and under humbling effect thereof, he returned home, hav- accompliſhed his buſineſs in England. Upon arrival, his brother received him with the cuſ- nary ſalutation; but he could not return it in like nner: under this conflict of ſpirit he ſat down, wife and brother ſitting by, in ſilent aſtoniſhment is viſible change.

When he came to the entry of his goods, he was, ording to cuſtom, required to enter them upon

oath; but being perſuaded of the unlawfulneſs thereof, he ſignified he could not ſwear, becauſe Chriſt had forbidden it. This doctrine appeared ſtrange to the officers, and no wonder, as it was the firſt time, in all probability, they had ever heard ſuch a ſcruple advanced; and his deportment and plain addreſs, ſtanding covered before them, and addreſſing ſingle perſons after the uſual way of this people, with *thou* and *thee*, was as offenſive to them, as his refuſal to ſwear appeared ſtrange: but he was preſerved ſtedfaſt in his teſtimony to the truth, brought through the preſent trial without injuring his conſcience, received his goods and went home.

His ſituation muſt have been peculiarly trying, circumſtanced as he was, all alone, and without a ſecond in ſimilarity of ſentiment or deportment; the wonder and ſcorn of thoſe around him; where the name of Quaker had but lately been heard of, and where it was preſented to the imagination under all the veil of obloquy, which a preciſe and cenſorious age, or intereſted eccleſiaſtics thought proper to clothe it with.

Many profeſſors of religion came to diſpute with him, and ſpeak evil of the way he had embraced. But even theſe things wrought for good; for the reflections of the ſelf-righteous profeſſors, and the deriſion of the profane, to which this ſociety was at that time expoſed, raiſed a general ſpirit of enquiry into their principles and conduct; whereby ſeveral ſober enquirers were undeceived, as to their miſtaken notions of this people; and, in time, finding him and his friends neither deluded nor deceivers, but men of ſincerity, they joined with them in ſociety.

In 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaſter, and Miles Bateman, travelled into Ireland, where they publiſhed the truth, by preaching to the people in th

the cities, towns, and villages, and before the magistrates, as they were occasionally brought into their presence; and many of the inhabitants became convinced of the doctrine of the divine light, to which they bore testimony.

In the same year, W. Edmundson removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, a meeting was kept in his house, which was the first settled meeting in Ireland. This meeting was small at first, but divers sober people joining with them, their number increased. They held their meeting for some time in silent waiting, having no member concerned in the ministry, nor being, since they had a regular meeting, as yet visited by any from England. But it was not long before W. Edmundson received a part in the ministry, and was influenced, at times, to speak a few words for the encouragement of his friends, although in weakness and fear. Shortly after he believed it his duty to bear testimony to the truth, in the public worship-house, for which he was severely beaten by Colonel Stewart; but his testimony was effectual to the convincement of some of the auditory, in particular Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer, who joined him in community.

John Tiffin came over from England, sat with these friends in their meeting in Lurgan, and sometimes spoke a few encouraging words. W. Edmundson and he joined in travelling, and the exercise of successful ministerial labour, through much opposition both from priests and people. The former, taking the alarm at their doctrine, pointed against hireling ministry and the lawfulness of tithes, exerted themselves to incense the magistrates to persecution against this people. The latter, offended at the apprehended rusticity of their address, frequently ill treated them, not only with abusive expressions, but often with blows.

They

They went to Belfaſt, (a town of great profeſſion of religion, but deficient in hoſpitality), not an inn nor public houſe being willing to entertain them, one excepted, where J. Tiffin lodged, who ſought frequent opportunities to promulgate his doctrine; but the inhabitants ſhut their ears, their hearts, and their houſes againſt them. Having ſpent five or ſix weeks here, he returned to England.

The next miniſter from England was Richard Clayton, who came directly to W. Edmundſon's, who joined him in his travels on foot, through the county of Antrim to Colerain, where they preached through the ſtreet, for the inhabitants would not admit them into their houſes, nor ſuffer them to lodge in the town; ſo they were obliged to take up their lodging at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they reached Londonderry, where they were hoſpitably entertained by one Evans, who, with ſeveral of his family, was convinced. They had two meetings in that city, both of which were attended by the governor, who, with ſeveral others, acknowledged the truth of their doctrine, and demeaned themſelves with affectionate regard towards them. From thence, returning through the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, they came to the houſe of Margery Atkinſon, near Kilmore, where they had a meeting on the firſt day of the week, at which ſeveral were convinced, through the miniſtry of R. Clayton. Having ſettled a meeting there, (which in time became large,) they took leave of each other, and ſoon after R. Clayton returned to England.

Now meetings began to be ſettled in divers places. One at Gabriel Clark's, at Grange, in the county of Antrim; and another at Archibald Scott's, at Tober-head, county of Londonderry. Convincement ſpread; and the reſentment of the prieſts and high profeſſors received additional heat from the obſervation of ſeveral leaving them; ſo that to avenge themſelves

themſelves, they procured the impriſonment of W. Edmundſon, in Armagh jail.

This year J. Lancaſter and J. Tiffin came over from England the ſecond time: they landed in the north, and came to Lurgan, where they had a meeting on the green, near the market-place; here they were ſet upon by the populace, who beat the ſaid friends and W. Edmundſon their townſman ſeverely, and drove them to the town's end, with intention to drive them out of it entirely; but the more ſober inhabitants prevented their deſign.

As yet the profeſſion of Quakers had been confined to the province of Ulſter; but now it began to extend to other parts, principally through the miniſterial labours of Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith; F. Howgill and E. Burrough, who went over to that nation in the courſe of this year: the former are ſuppoſed to be the firſt of this ſociety who had a meeting in Dublin, in the chamber of Richard Fowkes, near Polegate; and ſoon after a meeting was ſettled at George Latham's, near the ſame place. Their labours were alſo remarkably ſucceſsful in the ſouthern parts of that nation, being effectual to the convincement of many in Dublin, and in the province of Munſter, particularly William Ames, who had formerly been a military officer, and a zealous teacher amongſt the Baptiſts.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough alſo travelled ſouthward into Munſter; at Bandon, F. Howgill was kindly entertained by Edward Cook, (a cornet in Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to Lord Cork,) who, being convinced, accompanied him the firſt day of the week to the public worſhip, where Francis declared truth to the congregation. In concluſion, Edward Cook* invited them to a meeting

* The ſaid Edward Cook lived and walked, to his dying day, in great ſelf-denial to the glory and greatneſs of the world, and

meeting to be held at his houſe that evening, to which a great concourſe of people reſorted, to whom Francis preached; many confeſſed to the truth of his doctrine, and joined in ſociety with the Quakers.

From hence they went to Limerick, and attempting to ſpeak in the public place of worſhip, were prevented by an aſſault of the people, and next morning were put forth through the gates. E. Burrough preached through the ſtreets as they paſſed along, and without the gates had an opportunity to preach to a great multitude, ſeveral of whom were ſo reached, as to become proſelytes to his doctrine.

From Limerick, I apprehend, they returned to Cork; but theſe their ſucceſsful labours, and the number of thoſe who thereby were brought to the acknowledgment of their doctrines, alarming the jealouſy of the public teachers, by an order of government, at their inſtigation, theſe two eminent miniſters of the goſpel were taken priſoners in Cork, and ſent under a guard, from garriſon to garriſon, to Dublin; where they were committed to the cuſtody of Edward Mortimer, ſerjeant at arms, until an order was procured from Henry Cromwell, lord deputy, to baniſh them out of the nation, and a guard of ſoldiers was appointed to conduct them on ſhipboard.

As E. Burrough had been a zealous advocate for the liberty of his brethren, in divers remonſtrances to the ruling powers in England, with the ſpirit of evangelical liberty, in a ſimilar addreſs to the preſent rulers of Ireland, he pleaded his own cauſe, and that of his fellow ſufferer, againſt the arbitrary exertion of power, in inflicting puniſhment without legal conviction of any crime. Remonſtrating, that they were men free born; that they had come into Ireland under the beſt impreſſions, and with the be-

and laid down his head in peace with God, and ſweet unity with friends. Rutty's Riſe and Progreſs, p. 95.

iews; that they had travelled ſix months in ſundry arts of the nation, through many ſufferings and reproaches; preaching the kingdom of God, in ſobriety, meekneſs, and the exerciſe of a pure conſcience, both in doctrine and converſation; appealing to all who had heard the one or beheld the other, as witneſſes for their inoffenſive demeanour, and challenging even their bittereſt enemies to prove the contrary: yet were they, without trial, without conviction, condemned to impriſonment, in order to be tranſported out of the country as vagabonds: and boldly demanding their right, as freeborn ſubjects, to their perſonal liberty, until they ſhould be proved guilty by the law of the land, to which they profeſſed ſubjection, and that for conſcience ſake*.

The day that they were baniſhed from Dublin, Barbara Blaugdon landed there, and went directly to the deputy's houſe, and with ſome difficulty got admittance to him: being introduced to the drawing-room, a ſcheme was laid to impoſe upon her; for, as they knew ſhe had never ſeen the deputy, another perſon (a prieſt) came out of the deputy's chamber covered, thoſe that attended him ſtanding bare-headed; as ſhe did not immediately ſpeak, ſome of thoſe ſtanding by, aſked her "why ſhe did not ſpeak to their lord?" But ſhe, having a ſenſe of the intended deception, anſwered, "When I ſee their lord, I ſhall deliver my meſſage to him:" ſoon after the deputy himſelf came forth, and ſat down on a couch, to whom ſhe addreſſed herſelf ſo powerfully, that he appeared much concerned at the words ſhe ſpoke.

From Dublin ſhe went to Cork, where ſhe had ſome relations; but her ſufferings were great, for ſhe was impriſoned almoſt wherever ſhe came; but ge-

* See Rutty's Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Quakers in Ireland.

nerally

nerally whereſoever ſhe preached it was attended with demonſtration, to the convincement of ſome of the auditory.

In 1656, W. Edmundſon apprehended it his duty to diſcontinue ſhop-keeping, and take a farm; in order to encourage his friends to faithfulneſs in the teſtimony they had to maintain againſt the payment of tithes, under the diſpenſation of the goſpel; apprehending his endeavours to preſerve them ſtedfaſt under ſuffering, would be likely to have a more prevalent effect, when he ſhould give force to his advice by his own example. With this view, he and ſome other friends, leaving the meeting at Lurgan, took land in the county of Cavan, and ſettled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places whereby their profeſſion gained ground.

In 1657, the meetings of this people in Ireland were viſited by Thomas Loe, from Oxford. He travelled (partly on foot) through the greateſt part of the nation, and was inſtrumental to confirm his friends, who were before gathered into the ſociety, and to increaſe their number by the convincement of others.

In 1659 John Burnyeat, from Cumberland, landed at Donaghadee, in the province of Ulſter; he travelled on foot, through divers parts of the province, and by means of his miniſtry many were converted from the evil of their ways. After having been in Munſter, he came again into the north, and at Lurgan met with Robert Lodge from England: they joined in travelling, promulgating truth, and convincing many. At Londonderry they experienced a different reception from thoſe who went there before; theſe being refuſed entertainment, when known to be Quakers, though they offered to pay for it. At the place for public worſhip, on the firſt day, they had a good opportunity to publiſh their doctrine to the people; but at length the mayor ſent his officers, and forced the

them out of the city. They continued to travel with diligence for the ſpace of twelve months, viſiting many places in the province of Ulſter; alſo Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Bandon, and then returned to the north again; having ſuffered by cold and hunger, (ſeveral parts of the country being moſtly uninhabited,) and divers impriſonments; zealouſly exerciſing the talents they had received, without any view to other reward, than the inward peace reſulting from the conſcientious diſcharge of their duty.

This year, ſeveral friends who had removed into the county of Cavan, being diſappointed by their landlord, in not fulfilling his covenant with them, left it, and ſettled in or near Mountmelick, in the Queen's county. In this neighbourhood ſeveral convinced perſons reſided, and a meeting was ſettled at Mountmelick, which is ſince become large. The meeting which they left at Cavan was loſt by means of the war, Friends being driven from their habitations there, and diſperſed into other parts.

Although the way was difficult to our firſt friends in this nation, yet it doth not appear that perſecution was either ſo general or ſo violent as in England; which I attribute to the moderation of Henry Cromwell, at this time chief governor, eſpecially as we have fewer accounts of impriſonments and perſecutions in the city of Dublin, than in remoter parts, not ſo immediately under the eye of government. The moſt remarkable caſes that I meet with are thoſe which follow.

Barbara Blaugdon, landing a ſecond time in this country, after narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck off Dunkarvan, came to Dublin in 1655, where ſhe felt herſelf concerned to go and exhort the judges to righteouſneſs in the diſcharge of their functions: but her exhortation was ſo ill received, that ſhe was immediately ſhut up in a loathſome priſon, where

ſhe

ſhe lay upon ſtraw; and when it rained, the wet and filth of the houſe of office ran in under her. She was arraigned, and required to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*; to which ſhe anſwered, "there was no guilt upon any one's conſcience for what was done in obedience to the Lord;" which anſwer not ſatisfying, ſhe was ſent back to priſon, where ſhe ſuffered much. She was afterward impriſoned in Limerick, and when releaſed thence, returned to England; but in her paſſage thither was robbed by a privateer of all ſhe had on board.

Edward Cook, the ſoldier before mentioned, being convinced, was ſent for before the general, where nothing appeared againſt him, but that he refuſed to pull off his hat, uſing the language of *thee* and *thou*, and declining the cuſtomary compliments; for theſe cauſes he was diſmiſſed from the army, and deprived of his pay.

W. Edmundſon travelling northward, came to a town called Finah, in 1656, where the inn-keeper, when they perceived he was a Quaker, refuſed him lodging, upon which he applied to the conſtable to provide him lodging, being a traveller, and having money to pay for it, with much entreaty he obtained admittance into his houſe, being an ale-houſe, where he found a company of troopers drinking, who received him with ſcoffs and impertinencies. They afterward took offence at his ſingular addreſs, one of them ſwearing *if he thou'd him again he would cleave his head.* And when in the courſe of converſation he uſed the term *thou* to him again, the trooper drew his ſword; but a corporal being preſent prevented him from miſchief, ordered him to put up his ſword, and the trooper to go to their quarters: he continued to diſcourſe with the corporal, who was convinced, and came to meetings.

He at length had a ſatisfactory meeting at Belturbet, but the provoſt of the town came with ſome rude people, and impriſoned both men and women all night: it being a ſeaſon of froſt and ſnow, they were greatly pinched with the cold. The next morning he ſet them all at liberty except W. Edmundſon, whom he ſet in the ſtocks in the market-place, where, the people gathering about him, furniſhed him with an opportunity to preach to them, who heard him with attention.

The people in general appearing diſſatisfied at his unjuſt impriſonment, the provoſt ſent his officer to let him out; but as he had been thus made a public ſpectacle without the violation of any law, he would not ſubmit to a releaſe from a petty officer, till the provoſt, who put him in, came in perſon to take him out.

About this time O. Cromwell had publiſhed a declaration, "That ſuch ſhould be protected in their religion as owned God the Creator of all things, and Chriſt Jeſus the Saviour of men, and the Scriptures, &c." Wherefore when W. Edmundſon was ſet at liberty, the governor of the garriſon, officers and principal inhabitants, had him brought before them, to try whether he and his friends were under Oliver's protection or not. The declaration being read, and William called upon to anſwer to the particulars, gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, that the governor and company gave judgment, that they were under protection. The provoſt being preſent, was covered with confuſion at this oblique condemnation of his conduct.*

NEW

* By an account publiſhed about this time, it appears, that for making the truth in divers public places in Ireland, ninety-four perſons of this ſociety had been ſufferers by fines, whipping, ſetting in the ſtocks, impriſonment, and loſs of goods. That nineteen

NEW ENGLAND.

A perſecuting ſpirit had found admiſſion amongſt the firſt inhabitants of New England, for long before any Quakers came into thoſe parts, theſe refugees from perſecution had diſfigured and baniſhed ſeveral perſons * for their religious opinions.

We have ſeen the inimical diſpoſition of the prieſts and ruling powers in England, and their inveterate prejudice againſt this people; many of them being of the independent claſs, doubtleſs kept up a correſpondence with their brethren in New England, and filled their letters with invectives againſt the Quakers; for it is manifeſt they had received an unreaſonable prejudice againſt them before ever they ſaw their faces; and had condemned their principles as *heretical*, before they knew what theſe principles were.

They ſeemed fixed in the determination to give no admiſſion to any other doctrines, than thoſe which their magiſtrates, under the influence of their teachers and ſynods, thought proper to eſtabliſh. No ſooner was the intelligence given (1656) of two female Quakers, Anne Auſtin and Mary Fiſher, being arrived from Barbadoes, in the road before Boſton, than Richard Bellingham, the deputy governor, immediately ordered them to be detained on board, and diſpatched officers to ſearch their trunks, who taking away about one hundred books, carried them aſhore. A council extraordi-

nineteen perſons had been impriſoned for meeting to worſhip in their own houſes; and that twelve had been ſtopped as they were paſſing about their lawful occaſions, and committed to priſon.

* Neale and Cotton. Mather's Hiſtory of New England.

ary was convened by the governor, as if to provide r the ſcurity of the ſtate againſt the alarming nger threatening it from the arrival of two harm- ſs women, which iſſued an order * againſt them. In conſequence of which their books were rned by the hangman, and they committed to iſon by the deputy governor, as Quakers, upon other proof than that one of them ſaid *thee* to m. Their confinement was ſo rigorous that no-

* "At a council held at Boſton, 11th July, 1656.

"Whereas there are ſeveral laws long ſince made and pub- ed in this juriſdiction, bearing teſtimony againſt heretics and oneous perſons; yet, notwithſtanding, Simon Kempthorn of arles-town, maſter of the ſhip Swallow of Boſton, hath brought this juriſdiction, from the iſland of Barbadoes, two women, name themſelves, Anne, the wife of one Auſtin, and Mary her, being of that ſort of people commonly known by the e of Quakers; who, upon examination, are found not only e tranſgreſſors of former laws, but to hold very dangerous, tical, and blaſphemous opinions; and they do alſo acknow- ge, that they came here purpoſely to propagate their ſaid rs and hereſies, bringing with them, and ſpreading here, dry books, wherein are contained moſt corrupt, heretical, blaſphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the goſpel profeſſed amongſt us. The council, therefore, tendering preſervation of the peace, and truth enjoyed and profeſſed ng the churches of Chriſt in this country, do hereby order:

"*Firſt*, That all ſuch corrupt books as ſhall be found, upon ch, to be brought in and ſpread by the aforeſaid perſons, be hwith burned and deſtroyed by the common executioner.

"*Secondly*, That the ſaid Anne and Mary be kept in cloſe on, and none admitted communication with them, without e from the governor, deputy governor, or two magiſtrates, revent the ſpreading their corrupt opinions, until ſuch time hey be delivered aboard of ſome veſſel, to be tranſported out he country.

"*Thirdly*, The ſaid Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, dily and directly, to tranſport, or cauſe to be tranſported, ſaid perſons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they e, he defraying all the charges of their impriſonment; and the effectual performance hereof, he is to give ſecurity in a d of 100l. ſterling, and on his refuſal to give ſuch ſecurity, is to be committed to priſon till he do it."

body

body was admitted to converſe with them, even through the window. Their pens, ink, paper, were taken from them, and they were barred the uſe of a candle by night. Next, they ſtripped them naked, under the pretence of ſearching for tokens of their being witches*, and miſuſed them in this ſearch in a ſhameful manner. They were not only debarred of light and converſation, but in a great meaſure of ſuſtenance, which, exciting the compaſſion of Nicholas Upſal, an ancient inhabitant of Boſton, he (fearing they would be ſtarved) purchaſed of the jailer the liberty of ſending them proviſions, at the extravagant rate of 5s. per week. After about five weeks confinement, one William Chiçeſter, maſter of a veſſel, was bound in a bond of 100l. to carry them back to Barbadoes: and the jailer kept their beds and Bible for his fees.

* Theſe people, ſo ready to load the Quakers with reproachful epithets, and impute the origin of their religion to a ſpirit of deluſion, were themſelves given up to deluſions in reſpect of witchcraft, which ſome time after affected them ſo univerſally that they hung one another for witchcraft and ſorcery, on vain accuſations. Not by the miſguided fury of a ſuperſtitious populace, but with all the formalities of a ſolemn trial; by the hands of the common executioner nineteen perſons, of both ſexes, ſuffered death in little more than three months time; eight more lay under condemnation, and one hundred and fifty in priſon, untried. Moſt of theſe aſſerted their innocence of the matters laid to their charge, and appear to have been of reputable lives and circumſtances in the world. And the principal tokens of faſcination recorded in their hiſtory, appear to have been the proſecutors, the judges, and the jury, who could condemn to death ſo many innocent perſons, upon ſuch idle tales, and ſenſeleſs abſurdities, as were given in evidence againſt them; and after all, when the people were ſo far reſtored to their ſenſes as to make public recantation of their erroneous proceedings, their juſtice went no farther than words. The accuſed perſons, being ſome of them people of property, had all their eſtates ſeized by the officers, of which, afterwards, even thoſe whose innocency was acknowledged, could never recover any, or but a very inconſiderable part.

A

A few days after their departure, viz. on the 7th f the month called Auguſt, eight others of the ſame erſuaſion*, arrived at Boſton from London, in a ip, whereof Robert Locke was maſter. He would ot ſuffer them to go on ſhore, till he had delivered liſt of their names to the governor, who ſent offi- rs on board to ſearch their boxes for books, and bring thoſe eight, together with Richard Smith, inhabitant of Long Iſland, before the court, then ting at Boſton. After ſome examination, they ere ſentenced to baniſhment, and to be detained in iſon till they might be ſent back in the ſame ſhip, e maſter whereof was required to give ſecurity to ke them back at his own charge; refuſing which, he as committed to priſon, but after ſome days con- ement, fearing the loſs of his voyage, he compli- . They were detained in priſon about eleven eeks, the jailer being impowered to ſearch their xes, &c. for papers and books, as often as he ſaw eet. While they were in priſon a law was made puniſh them, being the firſt general law made ainſt Quakers†.

The law being proclaimed by beat of drum in the eets of Boſton, Nicholas Upſhall publicly teſtified

* Chriſtopher Holder, Thomas Thurſton, William Brend, n Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Wither- d, and Dorothy Waugh.

† By this law it was enacted, that if the maſter or com- nder of any ſhip &c. ſhould thenceforth bring into any har- r in their juriſdiction any Quakers, he ſhould pay 100l. to treaſurer of the country, or be impriſoned till the payment uld be made or ſecured. That any Quaker coming into the ntry ſhould be committed to the houſe of correction, ſevere- whipped, conſtantly kept to hard labour, and debarred all in- courſe with any perſon whatever. Importers of Quakers' ks or writings, or whoever ſhould diſperſe or conceal ſuch, e fined 5l. If any inhabitants of the colony defended the ks or opinions of the Quakers, they were to be fined 40s. the ſecond offence 4l. and for the third, to be baniſhed.

his disapprobation; for which, being next morni
sent for to the general court, he told them, "Th
execution of that law would be a forerunner of
judgment upon the country, and therefore in lo
and tenderness, which he bore to the people a
place, desired them to take heed, lest they we
found fighters against God." For this he, thou
one of their church members, and of blameless co
versation, was fined twenty pounds, and three pou
more for not coming to church, from which he h
withdrawn, out of a conscientious dissent from a
ligion without charity.

They next banished him, allowing him, who w
an infirm ancient man, but one month for his d
parture, driving him into exile in the winter. A
plication being made to Endicot for a mitigation
his fine, he rudely answered, "I will not 'bate h
a groat." He removed to Rhode Island, where
met with that hospitality from an Indian prince, a
a Pagan, which was refused from his countrym
pretending to Christianity. He kindly invited N
cholas to fix his residence with him, and he wo
make him a warm house, adding his admiration at
"Englishmen's notion of the Divine Being, w
dealt so cruelly with one another about their Go

The first of this people who came to New Engla
after the making of this law, was Ann Burden,
dow, who, though no preacher, nor administe
any occasion of offence, coming over on the reas
able errand of recovering some debts due to her
that country; yet she was taken up, and carried
fore Bellingham, who, though he could find no oc
sion of offence in her, only as she was a Quaker,
said that "she must abide their law," and commit
her to prison, and kept her there a quarter of a y
though sick at the same time. During her impris
ment, some of her acquaintance had procured of
debtors, in goods, to the value of about 40l. whi
wh

when ſhe was ordered away, ſhe deſired liberty to carry with her to Barbadoes, to be diſpoſed of, not being fit for the Engliſh market; this requeſt was denied, and a maſter of a ſhip compelled to carry her to England, againſt her will. When he required who ſhould pay for her paſſage, the magiſtrates bade him "take ſo much of her goods as would ſatisfy him:" which, however, he would not do, having ſo much dependance on her honeſty, that though he could not compel her to pay, as ſhe was ſent away without her conſent, yet that ſhe would not let him be a loſer, and he was not diſappointed in his expectation. After her departure, the officers took away from the perſon intruſted to convey her goods to Barbadoes, as many as were worth 6l. 10s. for her paſſage, (which not they, but herſelf had paid) 5s. for boat-hire, (though the maſter had offered to take her in his own boat) and 14s. for the jailer.

The next of the Quakers who came to Boſton, was Mary Clark, from London, under a religious concern to warn thoſe perſecutors to deſiſt from their iniquity. She delivered her meſſage to mercileſs men, who rewarded her with twenty ſtripes of a three-corded whip on her naked back, and detained her in priſon about twelve weeks. Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland, with others who had been baniſhed, having returned, under a firm perſuaſion of duty, were whipped with thirty ſtripes each, the executioner meaſuring his ground, and inflicting the ſtrokes with all his ſtrength, which cut their fleſh ſo ſeverely, that a woman fainted away at the ſight. After this they were kept three days without food or water, ſo cloſe that none might ſpeak with them, lodging on the bare boards. In this confinement, they remained nine weeks, without fire, in the winter.

Richard Dowdney was taken up at Dedham, and brought to Boſton, and though he had not been there

before, was alſo puniſhed with thirty ſtripes, and ſent away with the former two, with threats of "cutting off their ears" in caſe they returned, which threats they afterwards made good.

At the general court held in Boſton the 14th of October, 1657, they made an addition to the former law*; which was not ſuffered to lie as a dead letter, but the ſame ſpirit which had dictated it, was manifeſted in its execution: no age or ſex could move theſe perſecutors to compaſſion; the objects of their ſpoiling, impriſoning, or whipping, furniſhed them almoſt daily employ.

The ſeverities already inflicted on the members of this ſociety, ſo affected many inhabitants of this colony, that they withdrew from their public aſſemblies, and met on the firſt day of the week to worſhip quietly by themſelves, for which they were fined 5s. per week, and impriſoned. Particularly Laurence and Caſſandra Southick, an aged couple, (who in the laſt year had been impriſoned and fined for entertaining C. Holder and J. Copeland,) with their ſon Joſiah, were ſent to the houſe of correction, whipped, and had their goods taken, to the value of 4l. 15s. for not coming to church. For the

* "That if any perſon ſhould entertain any Quaker or Quakers, or other blaſphemous heretics, knowing them ſo to be every ſuch perſon ſhould forfeit to the country 40s. for every hour's entertaining or concealment, and be committed to priſon till the forfeiture be fully paid and ſatisfied. If any Quaker ſhould preſume, after they had once ſuffered the law, to return into their juriſdiction, if a male, he ſhould have one of his ears cut off for the firſt offence; the other ear for the ſecond offence: if a female, to be ſeverely whipped for the firſt offence, the like puniſhment to be repeated for the ſecond. Both male and female moreover to be ſent to the houſe of correction, and kept to hard labour till they can be ſent away at their own charge. For the third offence their tongues were to be bored through with an hot iron. That every Quaker ariſing from among themſelves ſhould be dealt with, and ſuffer the like puniſhments, as the law provides againſt foreign Quakers."

ſame cauſe Edward Harnet, aged ſixty-nine, and his wife, ſeventy-three years of age, had 37s. taken from them, without regard to their poverty or their age, which would naturally excite tenderneſs.

William Shattock, a ſhoe-maker, being found on a firſt day of the week, quietly ſitting alone in his houſe, in the time of their worſhip, and being too poor to pay the 5s. a week, was ſent to the houſe of correction, cruelly whipped, and then kept to hard labour, the profits whereof the jailer detained to his own uſe, leaving his family, a wife and four ſmall children, who had nothing but his labour to ſubſiſt on, in want. At laſt he had only three days time aſſigned him, to depart out of their juriſdiction, to which hard condition he was neceſſitated to ſubmit, in order to be in a capacity to ſupport himſelf and family. Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, for ſpeaking a few words at the concluſion of one of their lectures in Boſton, were alſo ſent to the houſe of correction, and kept three days without food; they were then cruelly whipped, and kept three days longer without victuals, although they offered to purchaſe them.

In 1658, Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, in the public meeting place at Boſton, after the prieſt had done, having warned the people of "the dreadful, terrible day of the Lord, which was coming upon that town and country," was hauled out by the hair of the head, and ſent to priſon, where he was ſhut up in a cloſe room, excluded from all company. Next day he was cruelly whipped, and then ſhut up ſeven days more, five of which he was kept without bread, becauſe he refuſed to work for the jailer, and probably had been ſtarved, had not ſome humane people privately conveyed him ſome food through the window by night. Reduced to great weakneſs by long faſting and the torture of whipping, the jailer, inured to cruelty, inſiſted on his working,

though disabled by his abusive treatment, and upon his refusal, gave him, weak as he was, twenty-two blows with a pitched rope, and some days after, fifteen stripes with a three-corded whip.

On the 20th of 3d month, this year, another law was made, which enacted, "that every person meeting (as Quakers) shall pay to the country for every time, 10s.; and every one speaking in such meeting, shall pay 5l. a-piece, &c. &c.*

Of all the instances of cruelty that in the records of this furious government disgust the feelings of humanity, the treatment of William Brend is scarcely exceeded.

In the latter part of the 5th month, this year, W. Brend and William Leddra, at the house of Robert Adams, in Newbury, by desire of the inhabitants, had a conference with a priest, in the presence of one Capt. Gerish, who had promised them protection from suffering for that conference; yet because they did not comply with his orders to depart the town immediately, he violated his engagement in sending them by a constable to Salem, where being interrogated by the magistrates, "Whether they were Quakers?" they answered. "We are in scorn called so." Then it was objected to them, "that they held dangerous errors, as denying Christ, who suffered death at Jerusalem, and the scriptures." Boldly contradicting this charge, they asserted that, "They owned Jesus Christ, who suffered death at Jerusalem, and owned the scriptures also." Notwithstanding their denial of this false accusation, and the confession of the magistrates, that they found no evil in them, they were committed to prison there, and thence transmitted to the house of correction in Boston, where they were required to work; upon their refusing to submit to this requisition, a-

* Gough, vol. i. p. 358.

being

being convicted of no crime, the jailer, who fought his gains from their labour, would allow them no food, though they offered to pay for it, telling them, "it was not their money, but their work which he wanted." Five days they were kept from food, and then received twenty ſtripes with the three-corded whip. Some time after he let them know, "they were at liberty to depart, upon paying their fees, and hiring the marſhal to conduct them out of the country." With this unreaſonable condition they were not free to comply, but ſignified their willingneſs to accept their liberty, if it were freely granted.

Next day this jailer put W. Brend, a man in years, in irons, his heels ſo cloſe to his neck, that there was only room for the lock that faſtened them, and kept him in this painful poſture from five in the morning till after nine at night. Next morning he inſiſted on William's working for him, which he refuſed to do; whereupon he took a pitched rope, about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms with all his ſtrength till the rope untwiſted: then he fetched another rope, and laid on, till his ſtrength and his rope failed him, and the poor man's back and arms were reduced to one ſore of blood, ſo that the ſign of a particular blow could not be diſtinguiſhed; and even then deſiſted with paſſionate menaces of repeating equal cruelty the next day.

The perſevering inhumanity of this jailer towards his inoffenſive ſufferer, had ſo far exhauſted his natural ſtrength, that he fell down under his hands ſo extremely weakened, that for ſome time he loſt his ſight, hearing, and feeling, turned quite cold, and had all the ſymptoms of a dying man.

The noiſe of this cruelty getting abroad, the murmurs of the people broke out into a general outcry againſt it, which cauſed the governor to ſend his

ſurgeon to examine his condition, who, deſpairin
of his recovery, reported, that "the fleſh would r
off his bones, ere the bruiſed parts could be brough
to digeſt." This report exaſperated the people t
that degree, that the magiſtrates, to prevent a tumul
ſet up a paper at the public places, ſignifying the
diſlike of this cruelty; and that "the jailer ſhoul
be dealt with at the next court day." But this pa
per was ſoon after taken down at the inſtigation o
their chief prieſt, John Norton, a principal pro
moter of the perſecution from the beginning.

In the mean time W. Brend recovered, the di
ſatisfaction of the people died away, and the magi
trates were relieved from the panic into which th
apprehenſion of his dying, by the jailer's cruelty, ha
thrown them; and inſtead of calling the jailer t
account, they ſtrengthened his hands by the follow
ing order: "That the jailer, if the Quakers refuſe
to work, ſhould whip them twice a week; the fir
time with ten laſhes, the next time with fifteen, an
ſo each time with three more, till they wou
work;" but to preſerve ſome appearance of diſpo
tion to moderate the jailer's fury, they ordered th
he ſhould warn two conſtables to overſee the ex
cution. This order was executed and exceeded u
on ſeveral perſons, who each of them received fi
teen ſtripes inſtead of ten; but we have no accou
of either jailer or conſtable being called to accou
for tranſgreſſing the limitation of their order.

About this time there was a meeting at the hou
of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five mi
from Salem; and, upon the information of one Ba
ter, the ſix following reſidents were committed
priſon: Samuel Shattock, Laurence Southick, a
Caſſandra his wife, Joſiah their ſon, Samuel Gaſk
and Joſhua Buffum, who, being kept cloſe in t
houſe of correction, during the heat of the ſumm
from their huſbandry, after three weeks confineme
repr

preſented their caſe to the court by a letter; hereupon S. Shattock and J. Buffum were releaſed, t the other four arbitrarily detained in priſon. It as not long till thoſe who had been releaſed were nt back to rejoin their former companions, for ſenting from their public meetings, and meeting themſelves contrary to law; for which they were ch fined by the court at Ipſwich 5s. for abſent- g from their worſhip by the law of 1646, and 10s. ch for meeting by themſelves. After this they oceeded to condemn them to puniſhment upon eir laſt law againſt Quakers. Upon which they manded a trial by a jury, and evidence to prove em ſuch as that law deſcribed, viz. "curſed here- s, who hold blaſphemous opinions, and promul- te diabolical doctrines;" but this demand would t be granted. Broadſtreet, intimating the court ould find out an eaſier way to diſcover a Quaker an by blaſphemy, (a confeſſion which it was eaſier charge than to prove) ſo, concluding them Qua- rs from appearing with their hats on, the court, thout further proof or inquiry, ſentenced them to whipped. About three weeks after, they were ought before the general court at Boſton, from ich they repeated their demand of a fair trial, d received a ſecond refuſal; they remonſtrated inſt the unjuſt puniſhments which had been in- ted upon them; refuted their charges; main- ned that they had already ſuffered the puniſhment ſcribed by their law, and therefore had a juſt m to liberty. Though the court was in no wiſe lined to admit their juſt claim, they were reduced a nonplus, to find a pretext for adding puniſh- nts beyond law to the various penalties of their ighteous laws*. Wherefore they continued them

* The next day Charles Chauncey, the preſident of their ege, preached an occaſional lecture for the purpoſe of fur- niſhing

them in prison, to consider what further measures to take with them.

We come now to the execution of their law against such as should presume to return after they had suffered before. Christopher Holder and John Copeland coming to Dedham, and lodging there one night, were next day taken to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he addressed them with this rough salutation: "You shall be sure to have your ears cut off." Soon after J. Rous also coming to Boston, was clapt into prison. On the 10th of September, these three were brought before the court, where, after some reflections cast upon them, Endicot, in wrath, pronounced the following sentence: "It is the sentence of this court that you three have each his right ear cut off by the hangman;" which sentence was executed upon them the 16th. The deputy marshal having admitted as many as he thought proper, had the door made fast, and the prisoners being brought into another room, J. Rouse told the marshal, "We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England." To which he answered, "I have nothing to do with that." Holder said, "Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for that was contrary to the law of England." Capt. Oliver replied, "We do it in private, to keep you from tattling." The executioner then proceeded to the execution of his office upon Holder; the marshal, who was ordered to see the execution, turned his back

nishing a palliative for inflicting additional punishments upon them, by the following uncharitable comparison: "Suppose I should catch six wolves in a trap, (alluding to the six prisoners) and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; but now you have them, they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain mark of wolves. Now I leave it to your consideration, (said he) whether you will let them go alive, yea or nay?"

pon which Rouſe called to him "to turn about
d ſee it," according to his order, and then he
rned again. After Holder ſuffered the amputa-
on of his ear, Rouſe undauntedly ſuffered the like,
d after him, Copeland; which being done, they
id, "Thoſe who do it ignorantly, we deſire, from
r hearts, the Lord to forgive them; but for them
at do it maliciouſly, let our blood be upon their
eads; and ſuch ſhall know, in the day of account,
at each drop of our blood ſhall be heavier than
mill-ſtone."

Amongſt others whom curioſity or compaſſion
d drawn to ſee this execution, was Catharine
ot, a reſpectable inhabitant of Providence, who,
on obſerving it to be done in private, remarked
at it was evident they were doing the work of
rkneſs, or elſe they would have brought them
th publicly, and have declared their offences,
at others might hear and fear. For this obſerva-
n, ſhe was committed to priſon, and ſeverely
ipped with a three-fold cord knotted whip. And,
on her examination, being threatened with hang-
if ſhe came thither again, ſhe replied, "If God
ls us, woe be to us if we come not; and I queſ-
n not but he whom we love, will make us not to
unt our lives dear to ourſelves, for his name's
e;" to which Endicot rejoined, "And we ſhall
as ready to take away your lives, as you ſhall be
lay them down;" which expreſſion his actions
erwards made good.

Notwithſtanding the ſanguinary laws enacted, and
punishment inflicted upon this people, ſeveral
hem were ſtill concerned to continue their tra-
s for fulfilling that miniſtry they believed them-
ves called to, by the exerciſe whereof, and be-
ding the patience of the ſufferers, many of the
abitants of Boſton, Salem, and other places, had
n brought over to join with them in fellowſhip,

and many more to ſentiments of compaſſion a
good-will toward them; that the ſociety gain
ground under all difficulties.

At this time John Norton, in conjunction wi
others of the prieſthood, forgot his duty ſo f
that he preſented a petition to the magiſtrates*,
"make ſome law to baniſh the Quakers, upon pa
of death;" thus preſcribing to them the meaſures
purſue. In conſequence whereof the magiſtrat
in their general court held in Boſton in Octob
made no difficulty of paſſing an act to baniſh a
put them to death without a trial by jury, agree
it ſhould be executed by a county court, conſiſti
of three magiſtrates, the majority of whom were
give judgment, and condemn to death at their pl
ſure; but the court of deputies would by no mea
agree to it, as being contrary to the laws of E
land. However, the magiſtrates and prieſts exer
all their influence with the deputies, and at laſt p
vailed upon two of them to change ſides; e
then their ſanguinary law was carried by a majo
of one voice only: the ſpeaker and eleven m
being againſt, and thirteen for it. One Wozel
deacon of their church, and a deputy, being confi
by indiſpoſition, deſired to be ſent for, when the
ſhould be put to the vote; but it was carried in
abſence, which when he heard, in the anxiety
his heart, he went to the court, deſired his v
might be taken, with tears expreſſing his ſor
that his abſence ſhould occaſion ſuch a law to p
ſaying, "That if he had not been able to go,
would have crept on his hands and knees to pre
it." Thus was the law carried to baniſh them

* John Endicot, governor; Richard Bellingham, deputy
vernor; John Norton, and John Wilſon, chief prieſts of
ton; and the majors-general, Denniſon and Adderton,
ſtantly appear amongſt their determined foes.

ain of death by a majority of three magiſtrates, ithout the interpoſition of a jury; yet two of the eputies, Capt. Edward Hutchinſon, and Thomas lark of Boſton, merchant, being ſtill diſſatisfied, ntered their proteſt againſt this law, as contrary to ſtanding law of the country, which was, "that one be ſentenced to death and baniſhment but by a ecial jury and court of aſſiſtants."

The firſt victims to this ſevere law, were Launce and Caſſandra Southick, their ſon Joſiah, S. hattock, N. Phelps, and J. Buffum. They were lled before the court the 11th of 3d month, 1659. n their trial (ſuch as it was) they queried, "whe-er it was for an offence againſt that law*, which en had no exiſtence, they were committed to pri-n and baniſhed?" Receiving no reply, one of em deſired the governor, "that he would be pleaſ-l to declare before the people the true cauſe of eir proceedings againſt them:" he anſwered, "it as for contemning authority in not coming to the dinances of God†." He further charged them with rebellion againſt the authority of the coun-y, in not departing according to their order;" to hich they anſwered, "they had no other place to to, but had their wives, children, families, and tates, to look after;" nor had they done any thing orthy of death, baniſhment, or bonds, or any of the nominious puniſhments which they had ſuffered their perſons, beſides the loſs of 100l. worth of eir property taken from them for meeting toge-

* They were in cuſtody when it was made.

† What he particularly meant by the ordinances of God, I not determine; if it was their public worſhip, (for their abce from which they had before ſuffered by fines and by whipg) I think it is a bold appellation, as applied to that worp and that religion which produced no better fruits. Such tter waters never iſſued from a divine fountain.

ther.

ther. This remonſtrance of their recent accumulated injuries ſilencing the governor, Major-general Denniſon replied, "that they ſtood againſt the authority of the country in not ſubmitting to their laws; that he ſhould not go about to ſpeak much of the error of their judgments; but, added he, you and we are not able well to live together: at preſent the power is in our hand, and therefore the ſtrongeſt muſt fend off." After this the priſoners were put forth for a while, and being called in again, the ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced againſt them, and a fortnight's time allowed them to depart on pain of death; and though they deſired a reſpite to ſettle their affairs, and till an opportunity of a convenient paſſage to England might occur, the malice of their perſecutors would not grant them even this requeſt; ſo S. Shattock, N. Phelps, and J. Southick, were obliged to take an opportunity that preſented four days after, to paſs for England by Barbadoes, in order to ſeek redreſs from the council of ſtate there, but without ſucceſs. Laurence and Caſſandra Southick went to Shelter Iſland where they ſoon after died within three days of each other; and Joſhua Buffum retired to Rhode Iſland.

The proceedings of theſe rulers are ſtrongly marked throughout with inhumanity; but I know of no inſtance of a more perſevering cruelty, than that wherewith they perſecuted the aforeſaid L. and C. Southick and their family.—Spoiled of their property, deprived of liberty*, driven into baniſhment, and in jeopardy of their lives, for no other crime than diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed worſhip

* While they were in priſon, William Maſton coming through Salem in his way to Boſton, brought them ſome proviſions, for which he was committed to priſon, and kept there fourteen days in the cold winter ſeaſon, though about ſeventy years of age.

he ſufferings of this inoffenſive, aged couple, end- only with their lives.

But the multiplied injuries of this harmleſs pair ere not ſufficient to gratify theſe perſecutors, hile any of the family remained unmoleſted. uring their detention in priſon, they left at home on and daughter: they, not deterred by the treat- nt of their parents and brother, relinquiſhed the emblies of a people whoſe religion was productive ſuch relentleſs perſecution; for their abſence m which, they were fined 10l. though it was ll known they had no eſtate, their parents having n reduced to poverty by repeated fines and ex- vagant diſtraints; wherefore, to ſatisfy the fine, y were ordered to be ſold for ſlaves*!

Edw. Butter, one of the treaſurers, ſought out a paſſage for them to Barbadoes for ſale, but ld find none willing to take them thither. One ſter of a ſhip, to whom he applied, in order to de a compliance, pretended they would ſpoil the 's company; Butter replied, "No, you need fear that, for they are poor harmleſs creatures, will not hurt any body." The maſter rejoined, Will you then offer to make ſlaves of ſuch harm- creatures?" and declined the office of tranſport- them. Diſappointed in his deſign, and at a loſs to diſpoſe of them, the winter approaching, he them home to ſhift for themſelves, till he could an opportunity to ſend them away.

* A COPY OF THE ORDER.

Whereas Daniel Southick and Provided Southick, ſon and hter of Laurence Southick, abſenting themſelves from the ic ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and ich, pretending they have no eſtates, and reſolving not to ; the court, upon peruſal of a law which was made upon nt of debts, in anſwer to what ſhould be done for the ſa- tion of the fines, reſolves, "That the treaſurers of the ſe- ral counties, are and ſhall be fully empowered to ſell the id perſons to any of the Engliſh nation at Virginia or Bar- does, to anſwer the ſaid fines."

William

William Robinſon, a merchant of London, Mar
maduke Stevenſon, of Yorkſhire, huſbandman, an
Mary Dyer, wife of a reputable inhabitant of Rhode
Iſland, the mother of ſeveral children, with Nichol
Davis, were, by the court of aſſiſtants at Boſton, i
the beginning of September, 1659, ſentenced to ba
niſhment on pain of death. W. Robinſon attemp
ing to ſpeak for himſelf, was firſt ſtopped by a hand
kerchief thruſt into his mouth, and afterwards ſe
verely whipped; ſoon after which they were relea
ed, and baniſhed purſuant to their ſentence, bei
allowed no more than two days, from the 12th o
September, the day of their releaſe, to the 14th o
the ſame, to depart, or anſwer it at the peril of thei
lives, if found within their precincts after the la
mentioned day.

M. Dyer and N. Davis left that juriſdiction
W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon only went fro
Boſton, but found themſelves not at liberty to d
part the juriſdiction, apprehending their miniſt
there not finiſhed; ſo they departed for Salem a
the adjacent parts, to viſit their friends and confi
them in the faith.

It was not long before they were taken up, imp
ſoned, and put in chains at Boſton. In the ne
month M. Dyer alſo returned, and was taken in
cuſtody. On the 20th of October they w
brought before the court, and being ſet to the b
John Endicot commanded the keeper to pull
their hats, and without further proceſs, proceed
to paſs ſentence of death as follows: "We h
made many laws, and endeavoured by ſeveral w
to keep you from us, and neither whipping nor i
priſonment, nor cutting off of ears, nor baniſhm
on pain of death, will keep you from among us
deſire not your deaths." Then added, "Give
and hearken to your ſentence of death." W.
binſon, previous to paſſing the ſentence, deſiring

1 be

rty to read a paper, ſhewing the reaſon why he had t departed; his requeſt was refuſed, and the following ſentence paſſed upon him: "You ſhall be d back to the place from whence you came, and m thence to the place of execution, to be hanged the gallows till you are dead." After which M. evenſon and M. Dyer received the like ſentence; ſe two, obſerving the treatment of W. Robinſon, de no defence. But the former, after the ſence, was incited to warn the magiſtrates and others ilty of their death, "That the ſame day they put the rd's ſervants to death, the day of their viſitation uld paſs over their heads, and they be curſed for rmore: and therefore in love, deſired them to e warning before it ſhould be too late, and there- remove the fatal conſequences of ſhedding innot blood." M. Dyer, to her ſentence, replied, he will of the Lord be done." Upon which preſident ordered the marſhal to take her away; rejoined, "Yea, joyfully I go." Being taken k to priſon, ſhe employed a part of the intermee time in writing, to the general court in Boſton, tter of remonſtrance againſt their laſt ſanguinary , being a ſtrong diſſuaſion from putting it in exion.

The 27th of October, being the day appointed their execution, in the afternoon they were led he gallows by Michaelſon, the marſhal, and Capt. ver, with a band of about 200 armed men, be- horſemen, as if apprehenſive that ſome of the ple might reſcue the priſoners. In the proceſ- the drummers were placed to march next be- the condemned perſons, and when any of them mpted to ſpeak, the drums were beaten to prevent being heard.

upported by that which the inveteracy of their ecutors could not reach, (the teſtimony of an oving conſcience,) they roſe ſuperior to all the indig-

indignities to which they were expoſed. Wit
hands and hearts joined, as companions in an invi
cible teſtimony to the truth for which they wer
brought to ſuffer, with countenances undiſmaye
and brightened with ſigns of heavenly joy, they d
rected their ſteps to the place of execution. Mar
being in the middle, the marſhal ſaid to her, "A
you not aſhamed to walk thus hand in hand betwe
two young men?" She replied, "No; this is to m
an hour of the greateſt joy I ever had in the worl
No ear can ear, no tongue can utter, and no hea
can underſtand, the ſweet incomes and refreſhing
of the ſpirit of the Lord, which I now feel." W
Robinſon began to ſpeak, upon which the drum
were immediately beaten. When they ceaſed, M
Stevenſon ſaid, "This is the day of your viſitatio
wherein the Lord hath viſited you;" but though h
expreſſed more, the noiſe of the drums prevented h
being heard.

Amongſt thoſe who attended this execution, Jo
Wilſon, prieſt of Boſton, and colleague of J. Nort
acco.npanied them, not to ſympathize with, but
diſturb them with impotent inſults. "Shall ſu
jacks as you come in before authority with their h
on?" was his contemptuous language; which
caſioned W. Robinſon to remark, "Mind y
mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we
put to death." W. Robinſon was executed f
who, on the ladder, addreſſed the people to the f
lowing purport: "We ſuffer not as evil doers,
as thoſe who have teſtified and manifeſted the tru
this is the day of your viſitation, and therefore I
fire you to mind the light of Chriſt which is in y
to which I have borne teſtimony, and am now go
to ſeal my teſtimony with my blood." Wilſon,
able to reſtrain the paſſion which agitated him
beholding the fortitude of the ſufferer, vented
indignation, by ſaying, "Hold thy tongue, be ſil
t

u art going to die with a lie in thy mouth."
illiam Robinſon being now ready to be turned
his laſt expreſſions were, "I ſuffer for Chriſt,
whom I live, and for whom I die." After he was
ned off, Marmaduke Stevenſon aſcended the lad-
and ſaid, "Be it known unto you all this day,
we ſuffer not as evil doers, but for conſcience
;" and when he was about to be turned off, ad-
"This day ſhall we be at reſt with the Lord."
y Dyer was reprieved at the gallows, for that
, at the interceſſion of her ſon.
he malice of their perſecutors was not ſatisfied
taking away their lives; their inhumanity ex-
ed even to their dead bodies; none holding
n when they were cut down, they fell to the
nd; then their ſhirts were ripped off with a
e, and their naked bodies rolled into a hole and
ncovered. When ſome of their friends would
put their bodies in coffins, they were not ſuf-
d to do it. Neither when they brought pales to
oſe the pit, would it be allowed: ſo that they
left expoſed to beaſts of prey, had not the pit
quickly filled with water.
any of the people, more humane than their ma-
tes and teachers*, beheld theſe executions with
ſorrow, and returned home, under diſguſt at
cruelty of their rulers in putting innocent men
ath, which the magiſtrates perceiving, in order
lay the ferment, reſolved to ſend M. Dyer
. They cauſed her to be ſet on horſeback,
y four horſemen conveyed her fifteen miles to-
s Rhode-Iſland; when they left her with a
and horſe to be conveyed the reſt of the way:
ſhe ſoon ſent back, and went to her own
.

ohn Wilſon, a prieſt, vented his ſpleen by making a ſong
occaſion of their deaths.

The

The conſtancy and innocence of theſe two m tyrs at their execution, did not only excite, in ſpectators in general, compaſſion and ſorrow, but ſeveral of them a ſpirit of enquiry into the ca thereof, and in conſequence an adoption of that re gion, which, they ſaw, was able to ſupport its p feſſors under ſo heavy a weight of afflictions. J Chamberlain, an inhabitant of Boſton, in particu being preſent, was ſo affected, that being convin of the truth they died for, he went to viſit others that perſuaſion then in priſon, which the magiſtra reſented ſo far as to impriſon him alſo, and ca him to be whipped ſeveral times ſeverely. Edw Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, having ſaid, guilt of Robinſon's and Stevenſon's blood wa great, that he could not bear it, was, for his prete ed inſolence, whipped with twenty laſhes, and fi 20l.*. But theſe ſeverities failing of reconciling people to their proceedings, and finding them c demned by the generality at home and abroad, t publiſhed an apology†, in juſtification of their c duct.

Mary Dyer believing it her duty to go back a to Boſton, returned accordingly on the 21ſt o month, 1660; and on the 31ſt of the ſame was for by the general court; being come, Endicot, governor, ſaid, "Are you the ſame Mary Dyer, was here before?" And it ſeems he was prepa an evaſion for her, there having been anothe that name lately come from England. But ſhe dauntedly anſwered, "I am the ſame Mary D that was here the laſt general court." Then E

* Michael Shaflin, of Salem, ſome years after, being rogated by the court there, "How long he had abſented their worſhip?" anſwered, "Ever ſince you put the ſerva the Lord to death."

† Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 397.

ſaid, "You will own yourſelf a Quaker, will
not?" To which ſhe anſwered, "I own my-
to be reproachfully called ſo:" Endicot ſaid,
he ſentence was paſſed upon her the laſt general
rt, and now likewiſe: you muſt return to the
ſon, and there remain till to-morrow at nine
ock; then from thence you muſt go to the gal-
s, and there to be hanged until you are dead."
which ſhe anſwered, "This is no more than
t thou ſaidſt before." Endicot replied; "but
it is to be executed, therefore prepare your-
to-morrow at nine o'clock." She then ſpoke
: "I came in obedience to the will of God,
laſt general court, deſiring you to repeal your
ighteous laws for baniſhment on pain of death;
that ſame is my work now, and earneſt requeſt;
ough I told you, that if you refuſed to repeal
n, the Lord would ſend others of his ſervants
itneſs againſt you." Hereupon Endicot aſked
"Whether ſhe was a propheteſs?" She an-
ed, "She ſpoke the words that the Lord ſpoke
her, and now the thing was come to paſs."
beginning to ſpeak of her call, Endicot cried,
way with her, away with her." So ſhe was
n to priſon, and kept cloſe till next day.

bout the time appointed, the marſhal Michael-
came, and called for her to come haſtily, and
ing into the room where ſhe was, ſhe deſired
to ſtay a little, and, ſpeaking mildly, ſaid, ſhe
d be ready preſently: But he ſaid, "He could
wait upon her, but ſhe ſhould now wait upon
" One Margaret Smith, her companion, being
ved to ſee ſuch hard-heartedneſs, ſpoke ſome-
g againſt their unjuſt proceedings: to which
aid, "You ſhall have your ſhare of the ſame."
n M. Dyer was brought forth, and with a band
ldiers led through the town, the drums being
g beaten before and behind her, and ſo con-
nued

nued, that none might hear her ſpeak all the w
to the place of execution, which was about a m
Thus guarded, ſhe came to the gallows, and be
gone up the ladder, ſome ſaid to her, that if
would return, ſhe might come down, and ſave
life. To which ſhe replied, "Nay, I cannot, fo
obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and
his will I abide faithful to death." Then C
James Webb ſaid, "that ſhe had been there bef
and had the ſentence of baniſhment upon pain
death, and had broken the law in coming again
and therefore was guilty of her own blood."
which ſhe returned, "Nay, I came to keep bl
guiltineſs from you, deſiring you to repeal the
righteous and unjuſt law of baniſhment upon
of death, made againſt the innocent ſervants of
Lord, therefore my blood will be required at
hands who wilfully do it; but for thoſe that
in the ſimplicity of their hearts, I deſire the Lo
forgive them. I came to do the will of my Fa
and in obedience to his will I ſtand even to dea
Then prieſt Wilſon ſaid, "Mary Dyer, O rep
O repent, and be not ſo deluded, and carried a
by the deceit of the devil." To this ſhe anſwe
"Nay, man, I am not now to repent." And b
aſked by ſome, "Whether ſhe would have the
pray for her?" ſhe ſaid, "I know never an
here." Being farther aſked, "Whether ſhe w
have any of the people pray for her?" ſhe ſaid
deſire the prayers of all the people of God." T
upon ſome ſcoffingly ſaid, "It may be ſhe
there are none here." To which ſhe replied, "It
but few here." Then they ſpoke to her again,
one of the elders might pray for her. To w
ſhe replied, "Nay, firſt a child, then a young
then a ſtrong man, before an elder in Chriſt Je
After this ſhe was charged with ſomething, w
was not underſtood what it was; but ſhe ſeem

r it; for ſhe ſaid, "It is falſe, it is falſe, I never ke thoſe words." Then one mentioned that ſhe uld have ſaid, "ſhe had been in Paradiſe." To ich ſhe anſwered, "Yea, I have been in Paradiſe e ſeveral days." And more ſhe ſpoke of the rnal happineſs, into which ſhe was now to enter. us Mary Dyer departed this life, having been twice to death, which the firſt time ſhe expected with re reſignation, and now ſuffered with Chriſtian itude, being raiſed above the fear of death, ough a bleſſed hope and aſſurance of eternal

There were at this time eleven other priſoners in ton, of whom C. Holder was ſentenced to ba- ment upon pain of death, ſix were ſentenced to whipped, and four ordered to depart the colony.

The colony of New Plymouth copied after that he Maſſachuſets, as appears by a letter of James lworth *, who had borne the offices of a magi- e and a captain or commiſſion officer there, till eſigned the one, and was diſcharged from the r, for diſcovering ſome humanity to the per- ted Quakers.

uring this period it does not appear that any d Quakers had viſited the American ſettlements he continent, except the Dutch colony of New ſterdam, (now New York,) where ſome of them, icularly Robert Hodgſon, underwent grievous rings from the Dutch governor: who, after time, relented, excuſing his conduct, as being of the cruelty of the Quakers own country- in New England. John Bound was impri- d by the governor, in a cold dungeon, almoſt ſhed there, and baniſhed to Holland; where ſtates gave him his liberty, and he returned e: ſome time after the governor meeting him e ſtreet, ſeemed aſhamed of what he had done,

* Gough's Hiſtory, page 406, vol. i.

and

and told him, "He was glad to see him safe ho again;" adding, "he hoped he should never do any more to any of his friends:" a token of repe ance, and of an ingenuous disposition.

In the province of Maryland, about the y 1658, several of the inhabitants, being convinc were brought under suffering, mostly in fines non-compliance with the military law, and on t refusing to take an oath.

William Leddra, of Barbadoes, was the fo and last, who sealed his testimony with his bl under their hands. After much hardship, im sonment, and many cruel stripes, he had been nished from Boston on pain of death. Return soon after to visit his friends in prison there, he apprehended, and kept night and day in an o jail, chained to a log of wood, during an extr cold winter. He was brought before the cour assistants the 9th of the 1st month (1661) with chain and log at his heels; the court passed sente of death upon him, which on the 14th of the month was put in execution. As the executi was putting the halter about his neck, he me said, "I commend my righteous cause to thee, God," and as the ladder was turning, he cried "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." When the cutioner cut him down, four of his friends, Wharton, Robert Harper, John Chamberlin, Philip Verrin, caught his body in their arms, laid it on the ground; his body being stripped, were suffered to put it into a coffin, and bu where they thought meet; a piece of huma owing n t to the inclinations of the persecutors to the outcry of the people against the barbarity to the dead bodies of two men who were put to before.

It was at the time when they were passing sent of death on William Leddra, that Wenlock C

ſon, who had been alſo baniſhed on pain of death, t only returned to Boſton, as with his life in his nd, but came openly into the court. His ap-arance there ſtruck the court with a ſudden diſ-y, ſo that for ſome time there was a general ence. But after a while they ordered him to be ought to the bar; and after ſome converſation the urt proceeded to vote as to the ſentence of death, which ſeveral of them would not conſent: this voked the governor, who paſſed ſentence of ath upon him, and ordered him to be taken back priſon. But before the day appointed for his ecution, an order of court was iſſued for the en-gement of him and twenty-ſeven others, then in ſon for their Chriſtian teſtimony. The priſon ors being ſet open, the priſoners were, by appoint-nt of the court, driven out of the juriſdiction into wildernefs country, by a guard armed with ords, and there left.

The ceſſation of theſe ſanguinary proceedings ears to be owing to the general odium of the re moderate part on both ſides the Atlantic, inſt putting men to death for religion.

When the tidings of theſe executions reached nds in England, they made immediate applica-n to the king, who readily complied with E. rrough's ſolicitations, who repreſenting the caſe rgent, not knowing how many more might ſuf-death, in caſe of delay; orders were immedi-y given to the ſecretary of ſtate, to prepare a ndamus to ſtop their proceedings; and the king, he inſtance of E. Burrough, granted a deputation Sam. Shattock, an inhabitant of New England, der ſentence of baniſhment on pain of death) to ry it over, who arrived at Boſton in about ſix eks. On their arrival in the harbour, ſome of citizens coming on board to look for letters, at ir return to ſhore, reported that the ſhip was full

of Quakers. Next morning Samuel Shattock we on ſhore, accompanied only by the maſter of t ſhip, and produced his commiſſion, with the kin mandamus, to the governor. After this the pa ſengers came a-ſhore, and had a religious meeti with their friends in the town, to return thankſgivi to the Father of Mercies for this deliveranc Not long after, all the Quakers were releaſed fro priſon by an order from the court of Boſton.

EUROPE and ASIA.

In the year 1655, W. Caton being at Dover, before related, went over to Calais, where his ſpi was burdened in beholding the idolatry of their wo ſhip, but he could not eaſe his ſpirit by pointi out to them a better way, as he was not maſter the French language; and therefore was on t point of returning home without finding any oppo tunity of ſervice there; yet afterwards it w ordered, that ſeveral of the principal inhabita ſought him out, and gave him a favourable hear at a large houſe in the town, where a Scotch l interpreting for him, he cleared his conſcience declaring the doctrines of truth, and then depar without moleſtation.

Upon his return to Dover he found his com nion John Stubbs there, with whom he paſſed o to Holland, but they found no favourable rec tion for their miniſtry at that time.

In 1656, W. Ames, J. Stubbs and W. Ca went to Holland again. At Amſterdam they m with ſome Engliſh people, who received doctrine they preached, but the impreſſion it ma upon them was not laſting. W. Caton travelled Rot

tterdam, where, for want of an interpreter, he obliged to deliver himſelf in Latin. Here he much troubled in meeting with ſome unruly ſons, who having been partly convinced by W. es, went under the name of Quakers, uſing ſuch avagancies in their writings and conduct, that magiſtrates thought them not unfit objects for riſonment in Bedlam. The ringleader of theſe one Iſaac Furnier, a paſſionate, capricious man, whom the Quakers could not have unity, al-ugh he had tranſlated ſeveral of their writings the Dutch language; at laſt he joined the iſts, and fell into a diſſolute, debauched life.

rom Rotterdam W. Caton returned to Amſter-, but met with very little ſatisfaction there; ſeveral profeſſors, were ready to approve the rine of the Quakers, but were more intent omprehending it in theory, than reducing it to tice; too wiſe for inſtruction, and too full of own wiſdom to receive the truth in the love Amongſt ſuch profeſſors ſeeing little pro-ity of ſervice, he left them, and returned by erdam to Zealand; arriving at Middleburgh in pany with a young man, who went to ſome of meeting places in that city, he was appre-ed. W. Caton hearing of his impriſonment, going to viſit him, was himſelf detained there days; but being at that time indiſpoſed, the ſtrate ordered them both to be ſent to Eng-In conſequence whereof they were con-d, by a guard of ſoldiers, on board a ſhip of where W. Caton, in his infirm ſtate, ſuffered hardſhip, being obliged to lie upon the bare ds in very cold weather; yet, through the ſup-of Providence, he arrived in London, where as received with much cordiality by his friends. hriſtopher Birkhead went over to France in , and was impriſoned at Rochelle, for advanc-

ing ſome objections againſt the Romiſh religio
where he was firſt examined by the biſhop; a
ſome bigotted zealots wanted to have him co
demned to the flames, but the criminal judge
ſolved him. After which, in the beginning of t
year, he travelled into Holland, and arriving
Middleburgh, he went to the Engliſh congre
tion there, and after their preacher W. Sp
had preached, he thus ſpake, "Friends, the Ap
tle ſayeth, that we may propheſy one by one; t
two or three prophets may ſpeak, and the oth
judge; and if any thing be revealed to him that
by, let the firſt hold his peace." This cauſed a
in the congregation, and he was apprehended
detained in cuſtody. On the 19th of 1ſt mon
1657, the following charge was exhibited againſt hi

"The bailiff of the city of Middleburgh
mandeth, according to his office, againſt Ch
ſtopher Birkhead."

"WHEREAS the ſaid C. Birkhead is a make
uproars, ſeditions, and a blaſphemer againſt the
preachers of the reformed churches,

"Therefore it is demanded, that the enſu
puniſhments be inflicted on him; firſt, that he
brought before the Stadthouſe, and there be
upon a ſcaffold and whipped with rods, and bur
with the mark of this city of Middleburgh, and
ſome years to be put in the Raſp-houſe, and th
to raſp and work, the time left to the diſcretion
the Lords, and afterwards to be baniſhed out of
juriſdiction of theſe lands."

It is evident that the puniſhments deman
againſt this man are quite diſproportionate to
juſt offence he had given, by ſimply reminding
auditory of the apoſtolical order eſtabliſhed in
worſhip of the primitive church, as an introd
tion to what he thought it his duty to declare
them. The charge and the requiſition of pun

nt bear the plain marks of paſſion, injuſtice and
lence, putting an offender, in ſo ſmall an in-
ce, on a level with the baſeſt criminals, and
nſing the magiſtrates to inflict on an honeſt
, for an action ſimply religious, the ſevereſt
moſt diſgraceful puniſhments the malice of his
ſecutors could contrive.

The priſoner put in his defence to the charges
bited againſt him, wherein he denies and con-
s them all.

His defence prevented the inflicting of the more
ominious parts of the demanded puniſhment;
the magiſtrates gratified his adverſaries ſo far as
ſentence him to be put into the Raſp-houſe for
years, and then be baniſhed, and pay all the
ge. Accordingly he was put into the Raſp-houſe,
continued there two years, ſuffering much
ſhip; and, after the expiration of the time, he
ſtill detained under pretence of fees and other
ms made by the keeper, till at length he was ſet
berty by the interpoſition of Heer Newport,
aſſador of the States-General in England.

bout the ſame time George Bailey going into
ce, and zealouſly teſtifying againſt worſhipping
nages, was caſt into priſon, and there ended his
.

this year alſo George Robinſon, a young man
London, found himſelf concerned to travel to
ſalem, to bear teſtimony againſt the idolatry of
images: he embarked for Leghorn, and from
ce took ſhipping for St. John d'Acre, ſo called,
erly Ptolemais in Aſia, and from thence con-
d his courſe to Joppa, and thence to Ramoth;
he friars at Jeruſalem having received intelli-
e of his approach, procured him to be inter-
ed and confined. After about twenty-four hours
riſonment, an antient Turk of reputation took
to his houſe, and entertained him with civility
ral days; at length an Iriſh friar came from

Jeruſalem, and informed him that he was ſent by his fraternity there, to propoſe to him three questions: viz.

1. Whether he would promiſe, when he came to Jeruſalem, to viſit the holy places, as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay ſuch ſums of money as it was cuſtomary with pilgrims to pay?

3. Whether he would wear ſuch a habit as pilgrims uſually wear?

To which queſtions the following injunctions were added:

1. Not to ſpeak any thing againſt the Turkish laws.

2. When he ſhould come to Jeruſalem, not to ſpeak any thing about religion.

But ſtedfaſtly refuſing to anſwer their queſtions or to ſubmit to their injunctions, he was, by the friars who had brought with him a guard for that purpoſe, taken forcibly to Joppa, and there embarked in a veſſel, which landed him again at St. John d'Acre, here he was hoſpitably entertained by a French merchant, by whoſe aſſiſtance, being ſtill under an apprehenſion of duty to proſecute his journey, he got an opportunity to return to Joppa, and from thence travelled on foot to Ramoth. On the road he fell into the hands of three robbers, who plundered him; but his innocent behaviour moving them to compaſſion, they returned what they had taken from him, and conducted him a little on his way in a friendly manner. Upon his arrival at Ramoth he was ſeized by the contrivance of the friars, and forcibly carried into one of the Turkiſh moſques, it being ſaid to be a cuſtom, that whoſoever enters one of the moſques, muſt either turn Mahometan, or ſuffer death. He was accordingly aſked, whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion. Upon his refuſing, and letting them know he could not be

their religion for the world, ſome of them declar-
if he did not turn to their religion, he ſhould die;
which replying, he would rather chuſe the hard
ternative of ſuffering death than violate his con-
ience by turning to them, he was delivered to the
ecutioner, who dragged him away to the place,
here it was expected he ſhould be burned to
ath. Here they cauſed him to ſit on the
ound. As he ſat, reſigned in his mind, with in-
rd ſupplication, Providence interpoſed for his de-
erance; for ſome Turks having obſerved that his
trance into the moſque was not voluntary, but by
ntrivance of the friars to enſnare him, they began
differ in their opinions about him, when a grave
cient Turk came to him, and told him whether he
uld turn to their religion or not, he ſhould not
. Then being brought before the prieſts again,
the query put to him, "Will you turn?" and he
ſwering, "No," they recorded in a book, that he
s no Roman Catholick, but of another religion;
though he owned himſelf a Chriſtian, yet his de-
rations againſt their ſuperſtitions, and the enmity
the friars againſt him, plainly diſcovered he was
of their communion. Next, the friars having
rned themſelves to incenſe the Baſhaw of Gaza
inſt him, and hoping that by their inſinuations
y had made him Robinſon's enemy, they hired
uard of horſemen to conduct him to Gaza, where
found things had taken an unexpected turn in
favour; for ſome of the Turks having informed
Baſhaw of the malice of the friars, he made
m pay a conſiderable fine, and obliged them to
vey him ſafely to Jeruſalem, he was taken into
friars convent.

Here they uſed every artifice to prevail with him
onform to the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the pil-
ns of their communion, ſaying, that others paid
t ſums of money to ſee them, but he ſhould ſee

them for nothing. But believing his miſſion was to bear teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtitious veneration for thoſe places, upheld by the friars for filthy lucre, he ſtedfaſtly reſiſted their ſolicitations, and alledged that, in viſiting thoſe places, in their manner, he ſhould ſin againſt God: that they, under a pretence of doing ſervice to God, in viſiting of places where the holy men of God had dwelt, did oppoſe that way, and reſiſt that life, which the holy men of God walked and lived in; upon which one of the friars ſaid, "What do you preach to *us* for?" To which he anſwered, that he would have them turn from thoſe evil practices, elſe the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled againſt them. This doctrine being highly ungrateful, they inſiſted upon his paying 25 dollars, under pretence that the Turk muſt be paid, whether he would viſit the uſual places or not; but if he would viſit them, they ſhould pay for him; but he ſignified he could not comply with any ſuch unreaſonable demands.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who aſked him divers queſtions to which he returned ſolid anſwers: and entering into converſation about the worſhip of Chriſtians, the Turk aſked Robinſon what was the cauſe of his coming to Jeruſalem; to which he anſwered, it was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was manifeſt in viſiting them, his compaſſionate mercies being ſuch as that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering.

Having borne his teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtition of the friars, and diſcharged himſelf of the meſſage he believed himſelf ſent to deliver, he found, as he declared, great peace of mind. The friars who had meditated his deſtruction, were reſtrained by the authority of the Turks, and obliged to con-

du-

ſt him back to Ramoth. Thus delivered from
e hands of his enemies, he returned to his native
untry.

The concern of Mary Fiſher, whoſe ſufferings
New England have been already related, is ſtill
re remarkable. Being returned to London, ſhe
t a concern upon her mind, to pay a viſit to Sul-
n Mahomet IV. then encamped with his army
ar Adrianople. Accordingly ſhe proceeded as
as Smyrna, where ſhe was ſtopped by the Eng-
h conſul, and ſent back to Venice, from whence
e made her way by land to Adrianople, being pre-
ved from any abuſe through a long journey of
e or ſix hundred miles. Being come thither, ſhe
mmunicated her buſineſs to ſome of the citizens,
d requeſted them to accompany her to the camp;
fearing the Sultan's diſpleaſure, they declined
mpliance, wherefore ſhe went to the camp alone,
d procured intelligence to be given to the Grand
zier, that there was an Engliſh woman who had
mething to declare from the great God to the Sul-
; who ſent her word that ſhe ſhould ſpeak to
n the next morning. She returned to the city
t night, and went to the camp at the time ap-
nted, when the Sultan, attended by his officers
ſtate, ſent for her, and aſked her whether what
been reported to him was fact, that ſhe had a
ſſage from the Lord? She anſwered in the affirm-
e; upon which he bid her ſpeak on; and as ſhe
d ſilent, the Sultan, ſuppoſing ſhe might be op-
ſſed with awe, to utter herſelf before them all,
d her whether ſhe deſired that any of the com-
y might retire? She anſwered, Nay; then he de-
d her to ſpeak the word of the Lord to them, and
to fear, for they had good hearts, and could
r it; ſtrictly charging her to ſpeak the word ſhe
to ſay from the Lord, neither more nor leſs, for
y were willing to hear it, be it what it would.

Upon her ſpeaking, they all gave attention, with much ſeriouſneſs, till ſhe had concluded, and then the Sultan enquired if ſhe had any more to ſay. She aſked if he underſtood what ſhe had ſaid. He replied, "Yea, every word;" adding that it was truth, and deſired her to ſtay in the country, for they could not but reſpect one who had taken pains to come ſo far with ſuch a meſſage, and offered her a guard to eſcort her to Conſtantinople, whither ſhe intended to go; which kind offer ſhe declined, confiding in that divine arm which had brought her thither for her ſafe conduct home again. He reminded her it was dangerous travelling alone, eſpecially for a woman, and ſeemed much to admire ſhe had paſſed ſafe ſo far; adding, it was out of reſpectful concern for her ſafety he offered her a guard, as he would not for any conſideration ſhe ſhould ſuffer the leaſt injury in his dominions. Then they aſked what ſhe thought of their prophet Mahomet. She made a cautious reply, that ſhe knew him not; but ſhe knew Chriſt, the true prophet, the ſon of God, who was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that cometh into the world; adding, "If the word that the prophet ſpeaketh, cometh to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the Lord hath ſent that prophet; but if it come not to paſs, then ſhall ye know the Lord never ſent him;" to which they aſſented; and ſo ſhe departed for Conſtantinople, without a guard, where ſhe arrrived, without having been injured or interrupted in her journey, and from thence returned to England.

Is not her remarkable preſervation in this long and tedious journey an argument of the truth of her miſſion, and of divine Providence protecting her in the performance of her duty, and in yielding obedience to divine requirings?

CHAPTE

CHAP. IV.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. TO HIS DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE.

THE convulsed state of the nation inciting men of moderation to an earnest wish for some settled form of government, Charles II. was in consequence, in 1660, by the united consent of the other estates of the nation, (after an exile of 12 years, which he had suffered many distresses,) through the ordering of Providence, peaceably restored. In this interval the Quakers enjoyed a respite from the sufferings to which they had been for many years exposed; their meetings were large, and held without molestation during the first six months after the king's restoration. At the intercession of M. Fell and others, about 700 Friends were released, who had been imprisoned under the government of O. and R. Cromwell, and an order was drawn up for admitting them the free exercise of their worship: but by some in authority, who disapproved of toleration, the issuing of this order was obstructed, till the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men gave them a pretext to commence oppressive measures. Yet in some parts Friends were greatly molested and abused in their religious meetings. Some inferior magistrates, who still retained inimical dispositions towards this people, continued to be vexatious to them; in particular, Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, (who had been a zealous partisan of the Republicans,) in order to ingratiate himself with the present powers, from a pretended zeal for the King, committed G. Fox to prison. In the course of his

travels, G. Fox came to Skipton, to a general meeting, which had been ſeveral years eſtabliſhed there (before the general eſtabliſhment of meetings for diſcipline,) for the purpoſe of making proviſion for the poor among them; for many were reduced to poverty by exorbitant fines, diſtreſſes, and impriſonments. It had frequently happened, that juſtices and military officers, coming to break up ſuch meetings, when they ſaw their books, and accounts of their collections and diſburſements, and the care that was taken that one county ſhould help another, inſtead of executing their purpoſe, have been obliged to commend their care, and leave them undiſturbed in the exerciſe of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other ſocieties frequently gathering in crouds upon theſe occaſions, partook of their liberality; it being their cuſtom, after the meeting was over, to ſend for bread, and diſtribute a loaf to each perſon who ſeemed to need one. From this meeting he went over, by Lancaſter, to Swarthmore to the houſe of M. Fell, who was then a widow; her huſband having died about two years before. Two conſtables, going with a warrant from Henry Porter, took George Fox that night to Ulverſton, where they kept him under a guard of 15 or 16 men, ſome ſtanding centry at the chimney, for fear he ſhould eſcape by that paſſage. Next morning they eſcorted him to Lancaſter, expoſing him to much contumelious treatment, and brought him before Porter, to whom he complained of the unworthy treatment he had received, but without redreſs. George then inquired, by what authority he had iſſued a warrant to take him? To which Porter would give no further ſatisfaction, than that he had an order, but would not let him ſee it, for he would not reveal the King's ſecrets; adding, a priſoner was not to ſee for what he was committed: G. Fox ſignified that was not reaſonable, for how ſhould

ake his defence? After ſome diſcourſe, his mitti-
us was made out, the jailer ſent for, and command-
d to put him in the dark houſe. Though bail was
ffered for his appearance, it was refuſed; and he
as committed cloſe priſoner to Lancaſter caſtle,
here he was treated with great incivility, being oft-
debarred proviſions, but as he could get them con-
eyed through a vacancy under the door. He then
ſired two of his friends to apply to the jailer for a
py of the mittimus, who told them, he could not
ve a copy of it, for another had been fined for a
nilar offence; but he gave them liberty to read it
er. Having thus got the ſubſtance of the charges
ntained in his mittimus, G. Fox thought himſelf
lled upon, in vindication of his innocency, to pub-
h an immediate reply to every particular charge,
arly proving them to be falſe. M. Fell alſo, con-
ering the forcible entry and ſearching of her
uſe, and arreſting her gueſt, as a violation of the
erty of the ſubject, and an injury offered to her,
bliſhed a brief narrative of his apprehenſion: and
ermined to take a journey to London, to ſolicit
King's protection, and lay the circumſtances of
Fox's impriſonment before him; which, when
ter underſtood, he went alſo, with a view to fruſ-
e her endeavours; but when he made his appear-
e at court, being charged by ſome of the courtiers
h plundering their houſes, he thought it ſafeſt to
ke a ſpeedy retreat. M. Fell being joined by
n Curtis, (whoſe father had been ſheriff of Briſ-
and had ſuffered death for endeavouring to bring
he King,) on whoſe account they were favoura-
received, laid the caſe of G. Fox before the
g, requeſting his interpoſition, to cauſe him to
emoved to London, and hear his cauſe himſelf;
ch requeſt he readily complied with, and gave
mand to his ſecretary to ſend down an order
his removal. After ſome heſitation they per-
mitted

mitted him to go without any guard, upon his verbal promiſe to appear before the judges at Weſtminſter. He accordingly preſented himſelf in the court of King's Bench, being accompanied by R. Hubberthorn, R. Withers, with Eſq. Marſh, of the King's bed-chamber. The charge againſt him was read; no accuſer appearing to prove it, he was ſet at liberty after an unjuſt and ſevere impriſonment of more than 20 weeks. His liberty thus obtained, filled his antagoniſts with vexation and fear; Porter, in particular, was greatly terrified, under the apprehenſion that G. Fox would avail himſelf, by law, of the advantage which the temerity and illegality of his injurious treatment had given: and George did not want incitement, even from ſome in authority, to make him and the reſt examples: but he eſteeming it his duty as a Chriſtian to forgive injuries, meekly replied, "I ſhall leave them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I ſhall trouble myſelf no farther about them."

It was at this time, that ſeveral of the late King's judges were condemned and executed. Among the reſt who ſuffered on this occaſion, was Col. Hacker, who ſix years before had G. Fox taken priſoner, and ſent up to O. Cromwell. In this reverſe of fortune he had cauſe to reflect upon George's parting expreſſions, when at his bed-ſide at Whetſtone; for, when Margaret Fell viſited Col. Hacker in priſon a day or two before his execution, he acknowledged that he felt trouble for the manner in which he had treated George Fox.

About this time R. Hubberthorn obtained access to the King, and upon laying before him an account of the ſufferings of Friends under the late rule, and that the like were continued in ſome parts of the nation under his rule, the King entered into a free converſation with him concerning the principles of this people, and was ſo well ſatisfied with

s account thereof, that he expreſſed his diſpoſi-
n to protect them. Thus encouraged, they ſeem-
to have a proſpect of better times than they had
perienced ſince they had been diſtinguiſhed as a
parate ſociety; their meetings were large and
iet, multitudes flocked to them from curioſity or
tter motives, many were convinced, and their
mbers greatly increaſed. But this calm was of
long duration: for in the Eleventh month,
s year, (1660,) an inſurrection was made by
Fifth-monarchy-men, under the conduct of one
nner. During the tumult on the 2d of the 11th
nth, an order of council was iſſued againſt the
etings of ſectaries: and on the 10th of the ſame
nth a proclamation was publiſhed, whereby the
g forbade the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and Fifth-
narchy-men, to meet together under pretence of
ſhip, except in ſome parochial church or chapel,
n private houſes by perſons therein inhabiting.
meetings in any other places were declared to be
awful, and all mayors, and other peace officers,
e commanded to ſearch for ſuch conventicles,
cauſe the perſons therein to be bound over to
ſeſſions. In conſequence of this proclamation,
Quakers were again expoſed to freſh perſecu-
, abuſed by the populace, dragged from their
loyments, their houſes ranſacked, and their
tings broken up by ſoldiers; ſick men taken out
heir beds were carried to priſon, one of whom,
mas Patchen, being in a fever, died there.

. Fox was ſtill in London, and gives account
all was uproar and tumult: the city and
rbs up in arms; the populace and military ex-
ingly rude and abuſive. Henry Fell, going
ly to a Friend's houſe, was knocked down by
ſoldiers, and had been killed, if the Duke of
k's paſſing by had not prevented. George was
n, but ſoon after, by the interpoſition of Eſq.
Marſh,

Marſh, ſet at liberty. Richard Brown, one of th
temporizers of this age, to compenſate for his forme
miſconduct, purſued the Quakers with peculiar vio
lence, and committed them to Newgate in ſuc
numbers, that they had not room to ſit or lie down
nor ſcarce to ſtand one by another. There were
one time in that jail*, of the mayor's own commi
ting, 346 perſons, of whom about 100 were croude
together in one room, and divers fell ſick, throug
the ſmell and cloſeneſs of the place; beſides thes
were ſeveral others whom the officers and ſoldie
had taken without any legal or regular warran
This perſecution was not confined to the city, bu
with the proclamation, ſpread ſimilar violence ov
all, or moſt parts of the nation. From their me
ings, their habitations and employments, out
their beds in the dead of the night, they were, wi
out conviction or crimination, without any le
cauſe, violently haled to priſon; till in many pla
the priſons were crouded with them, almoſt to
danger of ſuffocation, by the number ſtowed to
ther in cloſe, damp, or unwholeſome rooms†. P
ſecution being thus carried on againſt a people w
had adminiſtered no juſt occaſion, who were not
any degree chargeable with the inſurrection or ſe
tion; but artfully brought under ſuſpicion, to pall
the deſigns which were previouſly determined
the Quakers, as well as other diſſenters, though
neceſſary to clear themſelves of theſe ground
ſurmiſes, by a public diſavowal of all plots and
ſurrections whatever, in order to prepare the
for application for redreſs of the injuries to wh
they were unjuſtly expoſed in their perſons, rep
tion, and property. G. Fox and R. Hubberth
drew up a declaration of their abhorrence of p
and warring, in order to preſent it to the King

* At that time Newgate was a very ſmall priſon.
† See Beſſe's Sufferings of the Quakers.

Coun

uncil; but when finiſhed and ſent to the preſs, it there ſeized: upon which they drew up ano-, got it printed, ſent ſome copies to the King Council, and publiſhed the reſt in their juſtifi-on to the nation at large. M. Fell waited ſeve-times upon the King, to inform him how ſevere-er friends, who were not in the leaſt concerned nſurrection or riot, were treated; ſeveral thou-s of them through the nation being caſt into on illegally, in conſequence of other men's es. The King and Council wondered how gained the intelligence, after the ſtrict orders had iſſued to intercept all letters. However, onſequence of her application, and the declara-above mentioned, the King ſent out a proclama-forbidding ſoldiers to ſearch any houſe with-a conſtable. Afterward, when ſome of the un-y inſurgents were brought to ſuffer, they were ſt to this injured people, as by their dying teſti-y to clear them of all guilt; publicly declaring had no hand in, or knowledge of, their plot. with other evidences, and their continued in-ſſions, prevailed upon the King to iſſue out a ration, ordering the Quakers to be ſet at liberty out paying fees. But yet the populace conti-to be vexatious to them, eſpecially in their re-us aſſemblies. After the Quakers were fully ed of the plot, and all pretences of puniſhing on that account were removed, it was not long e they were again perſecuted by the revival of aws, made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and beth, chiefly againſt popiſh recuſants, but now rted to the puniſhment of this people.

the late general impriſonment, when the inno-of this ſociety appeared ſo clearly, that there ned no reaſon to detain them, it was the uſual od with the magiſtrates to tender them the oath egiance, knowing they would not take any oath,

that

that by their refusal they might get a plausible p
text to detain them in prison. On this account
ny hundreds were imprisoned, from the time of
insurrection, till they were liberated by the Ki
declaration; but it was not on this occasion
they suffered by this act, for it continued, w
other means failed, to supply the malevolence
their adversaries with a pretext to ensnare them.
the assizes of Bedford, on the 15th of March, 166
fifty-two persons, then in prison for refusing
oath of allegiance, were brought before Ju
Windham, who ordered the statutes of 35th El
beth and 7th James to be read; telling the pri
ers, that many of them being but young, might p
bably be ignorant of the penalties they were liabl
for refusing the oath. One of them, in the nam
the rest, answered, that the penalties had been
considered by them; that they thought it their
actively to obey the laws of the land, when co
ent with the law of God, and when otherwise,
tiently to submit. That the laws read appeare
them contrary to the precept of Christ, (Matthe
which they durst not break. They presented a
same time, to the judge, a paper writing, fully
pressing their allegiance, &c. On the next da
oath was tendered to six of the prisoners, who i
ed on the illegality of their commitment, ha
been taken by violence out of their beds, thoug
nocent of the breach of any law. They were
rupted in their defence, the grand jury found
bills of indictment, and returning into the court,
of them was read to the prisoners; who were
that the others were like unto it; and they
sent back to prison.

About this time (1661) the parliament passed
corporation act, and the act of uniformity, which
not materially affect the Quakers: but it wa
long before they were singled out, as victim

ſh penal laws, a bill being brought into parlia-
nt, entitled, "an act for preventing miſchiefs
dangers, that may ariſe from certain perſons
ed Quakers, and others refuſing to take lawful
hs." The title of the bill mentions only the re-
l to take oaths; yet the bill itſelf enacts, that if
or more Quakers, of 16 years of age or up-
ds, aſſemble under pretence of joining in reli-
s worſhip, as well as refuſing to take an oath,
party offending ſhall forfeit, for the firſt offence,
m not exceeding 5l. or ſuffer 3 months impri-
ment; for the ſecond offence the penalty to be
bled; and for the third, they were to abjure the
m, or be tranſported. Some of this ſociety in
don thought their duty to themſelves and their
ren demanded their interceſſion with parlia-
t to ſtop its progreſs. E. Burrough, R. Hub-
horn, and G. Whitehead, attended parliament,
licit againſt paſſing the bill: they were admitted
ve their reaſons againſt the act at the bar of the
e. But appeals to reaſon and humanity were
: the bill paſſed into a law; in conſequence of
h, great perſecutions and impriſonments enſued.
ng thoſe impriſoned upon this act, were the
before-mentioned advocates againſt the law;
urrough, R. Hubberthorn, and G. Whitehead;
wo former of whom, with many others, finiſh-
eir teſtimony to the truth, by laying down their
in priſon for the conſcientious diſcharge of their

ſide the heavy ſufferings from the ſecular pow-
his people were affected with inteſtine trou-
occaſioned by the caprice and vanity of John
t. This man had early joined in ſociety with
uakers, and too early taken upon him the mi-
ial office: being puffed up with a vain opinion
own abilities, he muſt needs go to Rome to
rt the Pope; and procuring John Love to ac-
company

company him, when they arrived at Leghorn the
were taken up and examined by the inquisitio
when they gave their answers in a manner so sati
factory, as to obtain their dismission. From thenc
they went to Venice, and afterwards to Rom
where they had not been long, before they were i
prisoned; Love in the inquisition, and Perrot
their hospital for madmen. Love died in pris
not without well-grounded suspicion of his bei
murdered. It was reported that he had fasted
death; but it is said, that some nuns confessed t
he was privately murdered for testifying against
idolatry of their religion. Perrot lay there so
time longer, and during his confinement, wr
some epistles, to be printed in England, in suc
fantastical style, as bespoke him scarce sound
mind. At length, through the solicitation
friends to some person of interest there, he was
leased, and returned to England. The report of
sufferings, joined with an appearance of sanct
gaining him the compassionate esteem of m
Friends, his imaginary consequence was increas
that degree, that he thought himself farther enl
ened than G. Fox and the rest of his friends:
as an evidence thereof, maintained that the cu
of putting off their hats in joining in public pra
was only a piece of formality, which ought no
be practised without an immediate motion ther
That regard which the exaggerated report of
sufferings had procured him, and the fondnes
novelties natural to many, attached a consider
number of adherents to him, to the introducing
order and confusion in worship. The next e
vagance he adopted, was to let his beard grow
which he was followed by his partisans. G.
and the principal body of Friends, foreseeing
danger of drawing off the mind from a proper a
tion to the necessary work of inward sanctifica

o contention about outward obſervations, exerted ir endeavours to prevent the ſpreading of the de- tion, which they could not effectually do for ne years. Perrot went to America, and his airy ſlable notions led him into manifeſt ſenſualities, taſtically putting on gaudy apparel, and wearing a ord; and under the pretence of being above forms, nt ſo far at laſt, as to reckon meeting for worſhip orm; and by his example and doctrine led many forſake the aſſembling themſelves together. ving obtained ſome poſt under government in erica, he who had before profeſſed that Chriſt forbidden all ſwearing, is reported to have diſ- guiſhed himſelf as a moſt rigorous exacter of s.

About the time that G. Fox was excited to eſta- an orderly diſcipline in the ſociety, (1661,) he an impreſſion of duty on his mind to appoint a ting in London with thoſe who had been ſe- ed by Perrot, to reſtore them to that unity, ch they had broken (in part at leaſt) by their de- ion; whereby an end was put to this ſeparation ngland.

was with the commencement of this year, 1662, the before-mentioned act againſt the Quakers e in force. One Philip Millar appears to be irſt that moleſted them in London; who, with- ny legal authority, came to the meeting houſe ohn's Street with a rabble: he then applied to onſtable, and with menaces obliged him to go him. Of thoſe he ordered to be ſeized, he ſe- d five, and had them taken before a juſtice, committed them to priſon. Some days after, me again to the ſame meeting place, and be- the people aſſembled would not depart at his nand, he ſtruck ſeveral of them, and then ed the conſtable with as many as he thought r; amongſt whom was John Crook, who, be-

fore

fore his convincement, had been a juſtice of peace
being taken before a juſtice, he took their word
come to him next morning, which they did, wh
he ordered them before the juſtices, then ſitting
Hicks's Hall, who committed nine of them to Ne
gate, in order to take their trial at the Old Baile
On the 25th of June three of them were ſelected
begin with; John Crook, termed Gentleman, If
Grey, Phyſician, and John Bolton, Goldſmi
men of property and character, who were n
ranked with the vileſt criminals. Being called
the bar, inſtead of bei g charged with any crime,
any indictment upon the late act, the oath of alle
ance was repeatedly offered them, which refuſing
take, they were ſentenced as having incurred a p
munire, and remanded to Newgate. Their eſt
were immediately ſeized. During their impri
ment, J. Crook drew up a narrative of their t
and committed it to the preſs, that the King and
tion might not be ignorant of the meaſures
purſued.

On the 23d of the next month, (as was ſuppo
by an order from the King,) they were ſet at lib
by the jailer; but two days after, J. Bolton an
Grey were taken again by the jailer's ſervants,
carred to priſon; (J. Crook being gone to the c
try, and not to be found;) how long they were
tained there, or how or when diſcharged, we
no account.

In the next month, at the aſſizes at Worce
Robert Smith was likewiſe indicted for refuſin
take the oath of allegiance, and received the ſent
of premunire, under which he lay confined
ten years. About three days after ſentence
given, the ſheriff made a ſeizure of his perſon
tate for the King, and took an inventory to th
nuteſt article.

Th

homas Sturdy, being at Carliſle aſſizes, went to ſome friends in priſon there, where he was ille- detained by the jailer; and the next day, he, Stephen Pearſo , then a priſoner, was taken to eſſions houſe, where the oath of allegiance was ered to them, which they refuſing, were ſent to jail, and had the ſentence of premunire d upon them. Soon after the ſheriff ſeized corn, cattle, and goods, and proclaimed a pub- e of them, at which they were ſold far below alue, becauſe few cared to buy them, as eſteem- hem no better than plunder: however they diſpoſed of without any regard to the priſoners ir families; (nor would the ſheriff allow any to the labourers who had been employed in ing in the corn, and the price of whoſe la- ay therein, as their employers, now plundered r all, were diſabled from paying them). Un- is ſentence, they were continued cloſe priſon- eral years, enduring their ſufferings with ex- y patience.

he quarter-ſeſſions at Hertford, in October John King, Richard Thomas, Abraham nd Henry Sweeting, appeared to anſwer a againſt them, for abſence from the national , when one of the juſtices, a counſellor, n invective againſt the Quakers and their gs, as dangerous and formidable, whereupon nch let the firſt proceſs ſtop, and tendered e oath of allegiance on the firſt day of the giving them time till next morning to con- hether they would take it or not; telling at if they refuſed, they would incur a pre-

morning they appeared again, and refuſing t, were indicted, found guilty, and had ſen- premunire paſſed upon them. They were to priſon, and cloſe confined during a

ſharp

ſharp winter, whereby their health was much i
paired. An order was iſſued to the ſheriff
ſeize all their lands, goods, &c. the execution
which was prevented by timely application to
king; and the priſoners, after thirty-one weeks
priſonment, were releaſed by the king's warrant

In Suſſex, Ambroſe Rigge was committed to
ſon, indicted the next aſſizes, tried immedia
and ſentence of premunire paſſed upon him,
which he was adjudged to loſe all his lands and
nements during life, his goods and chattels for e
and ſuffer impriſonment during the king's plea
Under this ſentence he was kept in priſon 10 y
and four months. Among many other caſes
might be mentioned, the treatment of Thomas G
year and Benjamin Staples, at the quarter ſe
at Oxford in the preceding year, demands pa
lar notice. After receiving the ſentence of
munire on the like account, Thomas Goodyear,
was brought like a common malefactor with
on his legs, aſking the court, Whether the
had orders to fetter him? was anſwered, "Th
lor may do as he will with you, for you are
the king's protection." The jailer, encourag
the example of his ſuperiors, when he brought
back to priſon, told the other priſoners, that i
wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their
for they can have no law againſt you: but o
the priſoners humanely anſwered, he would
go naked than ſtrip honeſt men of their c
who were ſtripped of all they had beſide. Ye
all this were not ſufficient to gratify the ill
their enemies, it was even attempted at this
bring their lives into danger. They were n
upon the late act, but upon that of 35 Eliz.
ſevereſt they could lay hold of; becauſe
power to proceed to baniſhment and to e
life at once; whereas, by the latter, they co

ve that power till the third offence. Several
rſons taken from their religious meetings, and
mmitted to the White Lion priſon, Southwark,
er about nine weeks impriſonment, were brought
their trial before Richard Onſlow, preſident of
ſeſſions, and others. Their indictment being
d, the priſoners deſired to be tried by the late act
parliament againſt conventicles; but were an-
red they might try them by what law they
uld, that was in force. The priſoners deſired
act they were to be tried by might be read (viz.
35th Eliz.) which was done only in part. Up-
their obſerving that they accounted themſelves
uſtly dealt with, in having obſolete laws revived
the mere purpoſe of ſubjecting them to the hea-
t puniſhment that could be deviſed. The an-
they received was a requiſition to plead to
ndictment; and ſome not being haſty to anſwer,
e haled out of court to priſon. The reſt, being
nty in number, pleaded not guilty. The jury
called over, and they excepted againſt two, one
hom was ſet aſide, having openly expreſſed his
ill towards the Quakers. The witneſſes teſti-
that in ſuch a place they took ſuch perſons,
ſe names were ſpecified in writing. In their
nce againſt the facts charged in the indictment,
aſſerted, that whereas they were accuſed of
g wicked, dangerous, and ſeditious, that was not
; for they were ſuch as endeavoured to lead a
eable life in godlineſs and honeſty. For the
whereof they durſt appeal to their judges;
he charge of not coming to hear the common
er was prepoſterous, as the ſervice book was not
printed till ſeveral weeks after the ſaid 29th
ne mentioned in the indictment. The court
conſiderably embarraſſed by this, and other
ns, advanced by the priſoners, ſo that the
was at a loſs to anſwer them. When the

jury went out to consider of their verdict, one of them was heard to say, as they were going up, "here is a great deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men." After some time they returned and brought in their verdict guilty in part, and not guilty in part; but this verdict would not be accepted; so being sent out again, they returned and declared the prisoners guilty. Whereupon Judge Onslow pronounced the following sentence: That they should return to prison, and there continue three months without bail or mainprize, after which time, if they recanted not, they must abjure the realm, or be proceeded against as felons.

At the same place, on the 11th of November 13 more of the prisoners were brought to the bar and indicted as before; five of them pleading not guilty, were tried, convicted, and sentenced as the former; the other eight, seeing the court so partial that a fair hearing could not be expected, refused to plead, and were sent back to prison. Such was the universality of party rage at that time against the people, that they were left unmolested in few parts of the nation. G. Fox in an address to the king acquainted him that 3068 of their friends had been imprisoned since his restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up, their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, relating that upwards of 4200 Quakers, both men and women were in prison, specifying the number in each county, and upon what account. Many of these had been grievously abused with beatings, tearing their clothes, and taking them away. Some put into noisome prisons, and so crowded that they had not room to sit down; no age nor sex found any commiseration; men of 60, 70, and more years of age were subjected to such rigorous imprisonments. Many times they were forced to lie on the ground

ound, without being permitted the uſe of ſtraw, d kept many days without victuals. No wonder t many grew ſick and died.

In London and its ſuburbs were no fewer than o impriſoned at this time; ſome in ſuch narrow les, that every perſon had ſcarcely room to lie wn; and the felons were ſuffered to rob them of ir money and clothes. Many grew ſick, and ne died. Amongſt them were many poor men, oſe families were expoſed to want, their cuſtom- loſt, and their trades ruined; about 30 of their nds, who were at liberty, preſented a petition to mayor and ſheriffs, offering themſelves, if no er means of relief could be found, to lie in pri- inſtead of the ſick and the pooreſt of the pri- ers. Thoſe who were at liberty, had but a very carious enjoyment of it; the ſoldiers and train- bands, by the encouragement of the magiſtracy, e let looſe upon them. To the meeting diſtin- ſhed by the name of Bull and Mouth, the ſoldiers ne ſeveral firſt days ſucceſſively, with muſkets, conducted by an officer; they uſually entered violent uproar, commanding the people aſſem- to be gone; which when they were not haſty to they laid on their blows with great force, beating men as well as men, and threatening to fire at m. Many were grievouſly wounded, ſome ted away, and ſome ſurvived it but a ſhort time. en they had wearied themſelves by theſe acts iolence, they generally added the preacher, (if found one,) and as many of the hearers as they ght fit, to the number already impriſoned. In middle of the month called Auguſt, the ſeſ- s were held again at the Old Bailey, to which bers of Quakers were brought as malefactors ugh the ſtreets, ſometimes 12, ſometimes 20, in mpany. Their trials were conducted in the ac- omed manner; the bench and jury prepared to

convict them, the witneſſes being moſtly the of
cers who had commanded the party that abuſ
them; theſe witneſſes heſitated, and even contr
dicted themſelves: yet ſuch was the temper of t
court, that this defective evidence was accepted
ſufficient to convict them; upon which they we
ſentenced in fines, ſome 100 marks, ſome 20l. a
others in leſs ſums, and committed again till th
ſhould pay the fines. Againſt ſeveral no evide
appeared, yet they were ſent back to priſon wi
the reſt.

It was not long before they met with an une
pected releaſe, for the King was pleaſed to gr
them a general amneſty, by an order to the may
in purſuance of which, all who had been commit
by Sir Richard Brown and others, were releaſe
and the jails of London and Middleſex almoſt e
tirely cleared of Quakers, a few only excepte
but in a ſhort time they were filled again, for
King's mandate for their releaſe gave little or no
terruption to the perſecuting meaſures carried
againſt them—their meetings continued to be d
turbed, even with an additional degree of violen
The very next day after the publication of
King's letter, the meeting at Wheeler Street
broken up in the ſame abuſive manner, and nine p
ſons taken and ſent to New Priſon, whence, afte
detention of twelve days, they were releaſed.
ſame day Sir Richard Brown, in company with ſo
military officers, meeting a perſon in the ſtreet go
about his lawful occaſions, who had been diſcha
from Newgate the day before by the King's le
called out, "There's a Quaker; take him up
carry him to the Counter;" which, by his att
ants, was accordingly done; and he, thus arbitr
committed, was detained for ſome time.

On the laſt day of Auguſt, when the meeti
Bull and Mouth was near breaking up, Major

al Brown, with a party of men, entered the eting houſe, with their ſwords drawn, in a man- rude and terrifying beyond expreſſion, and or- in; the doors to be made faſt, fell upon the aſ- bly, without regard to age or ſex; ſix or eight ether being knocked down, were dragged out, lay in the kennels, ſenſeleſs, helpleſs, and mingly half dead, with the wounds and bruiſes had received. Some of the paſſengers com- ionating this abuſe of unoffending people, felt r ſhare of the like treatment. The ſoldiers be- aſked why they could be ſo cruel to their neigh- rs, one of them anſwered, "Nay, we are more rciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to ;" and that his muſket was double charged, as t of thoſe of the party were, to his knowledge. conſequence of this barbarous treatment, many e ſo diſabled, as to keep their beds ſome time. e man was ſo wounded in the head, that his ns were ſaid to be viſible; and being immediate- ken to a ſurgeon, his life was thought to be in utmoſt danger: and one John Trowell, actually g by the wounds and bruiſes he received there, as judged expedient that his dead body ſhould be veyed to the meeting room at Bull and Mouth, ere he received the violence which occaſioned leath,) for public inſpection. The coroner be- alled, empannelled a jury, who viewed the bo- with a ſurgeon or two attending them. In the uſed croud, the particular men who murdered could not be pointed out—the jury deſired his ds to inter the corps, and departed without ging in a verdict, alledging, as their reaſon, that ey brought in a verdict for wilful murder, and murderer could not be found, the city would be e to a fine; the verdict was therefore ſuſpend- nd the buſineſs dropped. An account of that barbarity, and this perſon's murder, was pre-

ſented to the King by one of thoſe called Quake
to whom the King expreſſed, "I aſſure you it
not by my advice that any of your friends ſhould
ſlain; you muſt tell the magiſtrates of the city of
and proſecute the law againſt them." The ma
was by letter duly apprized of this tranſaction;
giving no redreſs, the ſaid letter, with a narrative
theſe abuſes, was publiſhed, for which the aut
was committed to Newgate, by Brown, for diſpe
ing ſcandalous papers, as he was pleaſed to
them.

For about ſix weeks the meetings in the
were generally undiſturbed: the death of the m
dered man, the apprehenſion of trouble wh
might have followed, and the public cenſure
their inhumanity, having, probably, damped the
dour of theſe perſecuting magiſtrates for the preſe
who nevertheleſs ſoon returned to a repetition
the ſame practices, and continued therein to
the end of this year.

By which time no leſs than twenty perſons
priſoners in Newgate, and ſeven more, ſoon
their diſcharge, by ſickneſs contracted th
amongſt thoſe who died there, were Richard H
berthorn and Edward Burrough, whoſe loſs
very ſenſibly felt by their friends.

Richard Hubberthorn had his birth in the no
ern part of Lancaſhire, being the only ſon
yeoman of good repute in that country. From
youth, he was inclined to virtue. Being arrive
years of maturity, he obtained a poſt in the pa
ment's army, and from a zeal for promoting rig
ouſneſs, preached occaſionally to the ſoldiers
others. But entering into the ſociety of the
kers, he quitted his military employment.

His bodily preſence promiſed little, being a
of low ſtature, infirm conſtitution, and weak v
Notwithſtanding, he was an able and ſucceſsful

ſter of the goſpel; travelling in different parts of
e nation in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, moſtly
the ſpace of nine years: great numbers were
ought over to the ſame faith and practice, which
preached, and became as ſeals to the efficacy of
miniſtry.

Though he was the man that, having obtained ac-
s to the King, was admitted to a free conference
h him, in which he gave him ſuch ſatisfaction,
o the principles and practice of his friends, that
received the royal aſſurance of protection from
fering for the whole ſociety, while they lived
ceably: yet this promiſe was violated, as well
reference to his own perſon, as to the ſociety in
neral. For in the month called June, he was
ed with violence from the meeting at Bull and
outh, and carried before Alderman Brown, who,
ulging his paſſion as uſual, pulled him down by
hat with ſuch fury, that he brought his head al-
ſt to the ground. He then committed him to
wgate, where the throng was ſo great, and the
ſo vitiated, as ſoon overpowered his infirm con-
ution.

The day before he died, he aſked for the miſtreſs
he houſe, to whom he ſaid, "This night or to-
rrow I ſhall depart hence." In the evening of
next day, the 17th of 6th month, 1662, he fi-
ed his courſe in this life, in a frame of mind
ll prepared for an entrance into a better.

Edward Burrough was born in or near Underbar-
, a village in the barony of Kendal in Weſt-
reland, of parents in repute for their virtuous
duct, who were poſſeſſed of competent ſubſtance
give him a good education in ſuch learning as the
ntry afforded.

He was brought up by his parents in the epiſco-
way of worſhip; but at the age of twelve years
began at times to frequent the meetings of the

Preſbyterians, and continued his attendance of the meetings till about the 17th year of his age.

At the time when George Fox firſt came into the parts where he reſided, he went to hear him preach and yielding to the conviction of truth, he was not diſcouraged from entering into ſociety with the Quakers; though for this he was rejected by his relations, and expelled from his father's houſe which hardſhip, with many others he was afterwards expoſed to, he bore with exemplary patience, and continued ſtedfaſt to the laſt in the doctrines and principles of truth. He was an eminent miniſter of the goſpel, and his perſonal conduct gave efficacy to his miniſtry; he lived himſelf as he adviſed others to live; viz. in the fear of his Maker.

On a viſit to his friends in Briſtol, in taking leave of them, he ſaid, "he did not know he ſhould ſee their faces any more," and therefore "he exhorted them to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs in that where they found reſt to their ſouls." And to ſome he ſaid, "I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the goſpel, and ſuffer amongſt Friends in that place."

Not long after he attended the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where, as he was concerned in his miniſtry, he was violently pulled down by ſoldiers and taken before Alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in priſon till he paid the fine: which amounted to perpetual impriſonment, unleſs releaſed by the King.

Being immured in the ſame priſon with ſix or ſeven ſcore of his friends, crowded ſo many in one room, as was even ſuffocating, many of them grew ſick and died, of which number he was one. Although a ſpecial order from the King was ſent to the ſheriffs, for his releaſe, and that of ſome other priſoners

ſoners, yet ſuch was the implacable enmity of
he of the city magiſtrates, eſpecially Brown, that
y exerted themſelves to prevent the execution
his order, and found means to effect it.

The morning before his departure, he ſaid, "Now
ſoul and ſpirit is centered into its own being
h God, and this form of perſon muſt return
n whence it was taken;" and after a little time
ired, the 14th of the month called February, in
prime of life, being in the 28th year of his age,
ing been a zealous preacher of righteouſneſs
ut ten years.

William Ames died in the latter end of this year
Amſterdam. As ſoon as the laſt act againſt con-
ticles came in force, when ſome of this people
e ſeen to enter a houſe, though only on a private
to their friends, they were purſued by muſ-
ers, without legal authority; and even doors of
ate dwellings were broken open, under pretence
etecting their meetings; and where they found
together, upon whatever buſineſs or occaſion, it
deemed a conventicle. It happened that two
heſe muſketeers, Thomas and John Herbert,
other aſſociates, entering a houſe according to
cuſtom with drawn ſwords, found there Samuel
er, William Ames, and three more, whom they
ediately took priſoners, and being aſked for a
ant, holding up their ſwords, replied, "Do not
us for a *warrant*, *this* is our warrant." They
ediately forced them to Paul's yard, where they
abuſed by the ſoldiers, and afterwards taken
e Richard Brown, who ſent them to Bride-
where they were required to beat hemp, and
ed ſo ſeverely that William Ames grew dange-
y ill, but being an inhabitant of Amſterdam, he
diſcharged, for fear of his dying in priſon.
oon returned to the place of his reſidence, in

a weak ſtate of health, from which he never rec
vered.

William Ames firſt entered into ſociety wi
the Baptiſts, and became a teacher among the
He had been alſo a military officer in Cromwel
army in Ireland.

About this time Francis Howgill and Edwa
Burrough coming into Ireland, he went to h
them, and not only joined in profeſſion with
Quakers, but in time became a zealous preac
amongſt them, and travelled in the work of
miniſtry, not only in England, but much in H
land and Germany, where ſeveral were convinc
by him, eſpecially in the Palatinate; and theſe
latines removing ſoon after to Pennſylvania, eſca
the general devaſtation of their country by
French, which happened not long after: at laſt
ſettled at Amſterdam, where he ſupported him
by wool-combing, and there he died.

Samuel Fiſher and the reſt committed with h
at the end of ſix weeks, were brought to the ſeſſ
at the Old Bailey, (not to trial, for they had
charge againſt them,) but to be involved in
breach of law, by tendering the oath of allegia
They deſired the act might be read, by virtue wh
of the oath was required of them. This was
miſed by the court; yet, inſtead thereof, they
dered the clerk to read only the form of the
but would not allow the law impoſing it to be
Before the priſoners had declared their refuſal,
were ordered to be taken away, which the off
did with ſuch rudeneſs, that they threw ſom
them down upon the ſtones; and thus, inſtead o
ing freed from their illegal impriſonment, they
committed to Newgate.

The relation of the unjuſt meaſures purſue
this year of perſecution we have confined moſt
the city of London; yet theſe or the like proc

ngs were too generally carried on in the different ounties.

We meet with few inſtances of ſufferings in the etropolis in the year 1663, in compariſon of thoſe elated in the year before; yet they did not remain uite unmoleſted, for Sir J. Robinſon ſucceeding . Brown in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be laced at the entrance of the Bull and Mouth meet-g-houſe. Being thus ſhut out, they met in the reet, as near to the door as poſſible, and there ayed the uſual time of their meeting. When any ne preached or prayed, they were generally haled way to priſon. One firſt day the mayor with his ficers and the ſheriffs coming thither, and the eople not diſperſing at his command, he gave ders to his officers to ſtrike, who immediately, ith canes and ſticks, dealt their blows unmerci-lly on the heads of both men and women. The ayor himſelf alſo ſtruck ſeveral, and ſpurred on s horſe to ride over them, to avoid which the rſe reared himſelf on his hind legs, whereby his der fell off backward into the kennel, and being lped up again, was preparing to repeat his abuſes, d not the ſheriffs, who were more moderate, per-aded him to depart.

In this year was a grievous perſecution of this ople at Colcheſter in Eſſex. William Moore, n mayor, came ſeveral times to their meetings, d after having diſperſed them, ſent many to priſon. is method proving ineffectual, a party of the unty troops were employed to go to the meeting, here they beat ſome and carried others to priſon, ving firſt broken the ſeats and windows of the eeting-houſe. Being kept out of the houſe, they t in the ſtreet, ſometimes in the cold and rain. us they continued, meeting conſtantly twice a ek, till a troop of horſe, juſt come to town, ed with ſwords, carbines, &c. rode in furiouſly

among them, beating and bruiſing many, chaſing them to and fro in the ſtreets; they alſo committed ſeveral to priſon.

On the 13th of December the troopers came again, having added great clubs to their former weapons, with which they knocked down many in the ſtreets, where ſome lay as dead, and many were ſo diſabled that they could not dreſs or feed themſelves for ſeveral years. Remarkable was the patience and meekneſs of one of the ſufferers, who when a trooper was beating him with a ſword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it up and gave it him, ſaying, "I will give it thee up again: I deſire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge." After they had diſperſed the meeting four troopers met a poor ſickly man about a quarter of a mile from the meeting place, and riding up to him, aſked him "Whether he was a Quaker?" He not denying it, they beat him ſo that the ſpectators thought he would have died on the ſpot; he was diſabled from getting his bread or providing for his family a long time after.

On the 27th of the ſame month thirty-eight of the troopers came riding among the Friends, who were met in the ſtreet, and ſo cruelly beat them, as moved compaſſion and tears in the ſtanders-by. As the ſoldiers forced ſome away by violence, they drove them upon others of their comrades, who beat them with clubs till the fleſh of ſome became like jelly, their blood for the preſent ſtagnated, and their limbs were deprived of uſe.

On the 3d of the month called January, many Friends being met at the uſual place, the ſoldiers fell furiouſly upon them, knocking down ſeveral, one of whom they abuſed in ſuch a manner, that it was doubted whether one of his arms would ever recover its uſe. Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, was ſo grievouſly beaten that he loſt much blood

wife, fearing leſt he ſhould be killed, fell down
n him, to protect him from their blows, many
which ſhe received on her own body. Edward
nt, father of Fromantle's wife, about ſeventy
rs of age, was knocked down, and ſurvived the
w but a few days. On the ſixth of the ſame
th the ſoldiers had put into their clubs iron
es, ſharpened with a file, with which they
nded many, and jeered them when they ſtarted
linched at the pain; among the reſt they wound-
an ancient woman in twelve ſeveral places.
r this, finding the conſtancy of the ſufferers
ncible, they began to abate their violence, ſo
there was a calm for two or three weeks, till
mayor and recorder puſhed them on again to
s before.

heſe appear the principal ſufferings in the city
neighbourhood on record in this year, but an
dent in the ſummer thereof, in which the
nds had no concern, involved many of them
reat trouble, by cruel and long impriſonments.
king and queen making a progreſs into the
ern counties, during their abſence rumours of
nſpiracy were ſet on foot, ſaid to be formed in
north among the republicans and ſeparatiſts,
ize ſeveral towns, and raiſe a general inſurrec-

t this time George Fox was travelling in York,
, where, when he firſt heard of this plot, in
r to exculpate himſelf and friends, and preſerve
ſtedfaſt in their peaceable principle, he was
erned to write a paper, as his teſtimony againſt
nſpiracies whatever; to admoniſh his friends
o intermeddle in any of theſe commotions;
es of which he diſperſed through the northern
ties; and alſo ſent one to the king and council.
withſtanding theſe precautions, he was ſoon
cted to a rigorous impriſonment, a pretended
occaſion

occaſion being taken againſt him on account of t
plot.

In Cumberland the magiſtrates had offered
crown or a noble a day to any of the peace-offic
that could apprehend the ſpeakers among the Q
kers; but at the time of his paſſing through t
part they were gone to the ſeſſions to receive th
wages, by which means he paſſed on into We
moreland unmoleſted, where he was in jeopa
ſtill, juſtice Fleming having in open ſeſſions
fered five pounds to any man that ſhould take h
When he came forward to Swathmore, he
informed that Colonel Kirby had ſent his lieuten
to ſearch the houſe for him, and that he had b
ſo particular in his ſcrutiny, as to inſpect the tru
and cheſts.

Upon this intelligence, he reſolved to face
purſuers. Accordingly he went the next day
Col. Kirby's houſe, where he found ſeveral ge
on a viſit, and amongſt them Juſtice Fleming.
addreſſed himſelf to Kirby, that, underſtanding
was deſirous to ſee him, he paid him this viſit,
know what he had to ſay to him, or whether
had any thing againſt him; to which Kirby rep
he had not. But, ſaid he, Mrs. Fell muſt
keep great meetings at her houſe, being contrary
law. At parting he ſhook him by the hand,
repeated that he had nothing againſt him; but
withſtanding his apparent civility, it was underſt
that he left inſtructions with the other juſtices
proſecute him.

A ſhort time after there was a private meetin
the juſtices and deputy-lieutenants at Holker
the ſeat of Juſtice Preſton, where they grante
warrant to apprehend him. Of this tranſaction,
cret as they thought it, he received intelligence,
enough to have withdrawn out of their reach.
conſidering that during this noiſe of a plot in t

arts, although he had no meeting appointed, and as clear as to his ſervice, yet if he ſhould go away, might give an advantage to his adverſaries to preſent his retreat as a ſymptom of guilt, and ence take occaſion to fall with additional ſeverity on his friends; as, on the contrary, if he ſurndered himſelf into their hands, his friends might me off the better; on theſe conſiderations he dermined quietly to abide the conſequence, and s apprehended the next day, and brought bere the juſtices Rawlinſon and Preſton, and Sir eorge Middleton at Holker-hall, by whom being amined, and clearing himſelf of the plot, as they d no evidence for committing him upon that acunt, they reſorted to the accuſtomed ſnare of dering him the oath of allegiance, and were, on his declining it, about making his mittimus; t upon further conſideration, they contented mſelves with his engaging to appear at the ſeſns, and ſo dimiſſed him.

In conſquence of his engagement, he appeared the ſeſſions at Lancaſter; where he was enred of what he knew of the plot? He told the ices he heard of it in Yorkſhire by a friend, o had it from the high ſheriff. They then ed him, whether he had declared it to the maates? He informed them of the aforementioned er, which he had ſent abroad, and had alſo ſent hem, as ſoon as he came into the country, to ove all occaſions of jealouſy concerning him his friends. Then they went upon the act inſt meetings: but upon theſe ſubjects, finding grounds to effect their purpoſe of committing to priſon, they had recourſe to the uſual means crimination, they tendered him the oath of alance, and committed him to priſon, in a very ommodious room in Lancaſter caſtle, where he kept cloſe priſoner till after the ſpring aſſizes 1665;

1665; after that removed to Scarborough caſtle where he was detained upwards of a year longer when finding means to get his caſe laid before the king, he ſoon obtained his releaſe, after an impriſonment of more than three years.

About a month after George Fox's commitment Margaret Fell was ſent for by the ſame juſtices to Ulverſtone, and queſtioned about keeping meetings at her houſe, at which they ſeemed to be much offended, and inſiſted upon tendering her the oath of allegiance: In anſwer, ſhe remarked, that "they knew ſhe could not ſwear, and why ſhould they ſend for her, from her own houſe and her lawful affairs, to enſnare her;" adding, "what have I done?" This expoſtulation made an impreſſion on them ſo far, that they told her, "if ſhe would not keep meetings at her houſe they would not tender her the oath." To this propoſal, ſhe replied, "She ſhould not deny her faith and principles, for any thing they could do againſt her, and while it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to let her have houſe, ſhe would endeavour to worſhip him in it." Upon this they tendered her the oath, and upon her refuſal, committed her to Lancaſter caſtle, which priſon was at that time quite crowded with numbers of this people impriſoned there, ſome for meeting together, and ſome for refuſing to ſwear. Many of them were poor men, whoſe families depending on their daily labour for ſubſiſtence, were in danger of periſhing, if the affectionate care of their friends had not been exerted to prevent it.

About the ſame time Francis Howgill being in the market-place at Kendal, upon his lawful occaſions, was ſummoned by the high conſtable, to appear before the juſtices then ſitting at a tavern whither when he came, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and becauſe he declined complying they immediately committed him to priſon till

Sum-

mmer aſſizes, to be held in the next month in
pleby: being brought thither, the oath was
in tendered to him, and upon refuſal, an in-
ſtment was drawn up againſt him, which he tra-
ſing, had liberty till next aſſizes to anſwer there-
Being required to enter into bond for his
d behaviour, which he declining to do, they
ommitted him to priſon; from whence he
not releaſed, till it pleaſed Providence by his
h to remove him beyond the reach of unmer-
l men.

E FIGHTING SAILOR BECOMES A PEACEABLE CHRISTIAN.

ASSING by the other perſecutions * of this
1663, we relate one remarkable caſe, where
ence triumphed over violence; firſt reverting
ome ſingular occurrences, accompanying the
actor, Thomas Lurting, who had been boat-
n's mate in a man of war. Being once at the
ry Iſlands, under Admiral Blake, he and ſeven
were ſent with a pinnace to deſtroy three gal-
in the bay; which was executed by ſetting
f them on fire, and that burnt the others. Paſ-
by a breaſt-work, they received a volley of
ſhot, by which two men, cloſe to one of whom
mas ſat, were killed and a third wounded in
ack. Going out of the bay, they paſſed within
four ſhips lengths of the caſtle, which had
guns, ſome of which were fired at the pinnace,
ſhot cut the bolt-rope a little above Thomas's
without hurting him.

* William Sewell ſays, "All which I believe my life-time
not be ſufficient to deſcribe circumſtantially."

About

About the year 1654 there was a ſoldier in th
ſhip who had been at a meeting of thoſe called Qu
kers, in Scotland; there were two young men i
the ſhip who had frequently converſed with hi
but he was ſoon removed therefrom: yet t
two young men were under ſome convincemen
for, about ſix months after they ſcrupled to go a
hear the prieſt, or to put off their hats to t
captain; for which they were called Quake
Theſe two met often together in ſilence, whi
being ſeen by others, their numbers increaſed: t
troubled the captain, and the prieſt grew ang
who addreſſing Thomas, ſaid, "O Thomas, an h
neſt man, and a good chriſtian; here is a danger
people on board, viz. the Quakers, a blaſpheme
people, denying the ordinances and word of Go

On hearing this, Thomas became ſo furious, t
in miſtaken zeal, he beat and abuſed theſe m
when religiouſly met together. But this was
the way to have a quiet and ſedate mind, which
much deſired; for the remembrance of his former
liverances ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that he could
more beat any of the ſaid people: and then he
what the prieſt was; for when Thomas could
longer abuſe them, then he was not accounted
him either, "an honeſt man or a good chriſtian.

Among thoſe called Quakers in the ſhip was
Roger Denis, whom Thomas loved and feared
that degree, that looking only upon him, he d
not touch any of thoſe whom he intended
have abuſed. In this ſtate feeling no peace
mind, and after much reaſoning, he came to
reſolution: whether Quaker or no, I am for p
with God. Yet it coſt him many a ſigh and t
a tear before he could come to a full reſigna
At length he opened his heart to his friend De
who ſpoke ſo much to the purpoſe, that Th
found great ſatisfaction.

The firſt day of the week being come, he re-
ved to go to the ſmall meeting, which was ſix in
mber: when it was reported that he was among
Quakers, many of the ſhip's company left their
ce of worſhip to ſee him, and made a great
iſe.

The captain required the reaſon of the uproar,
d on being told the cauſe, after the meeting was
r he ſent for Thomas, there being ſeveral offi-
s alſo preſent: the firſt who ſpoke was the
eſt, and the captain joining with him, endea-
ured to prove that the Quakers were no Chriſ-
s. Thomas was ſtill and quiet: when the
ers finding they could not prevail over him by
argument, had recourſe to falſe reports, and
mind was the more ſtrengthened towards his
nds; to whom he ſaid, "When I went to the
tain I was ſcarce half a Quaker, but by their
and falſe reports they have made me almoſt a
ole Quaker; or at leaſt I hope to be one."

He continued to meet with his friends for per-
ming of worſhip, ſo that in about ſix months
r number increaſed to twelve men and two
s, one of which was the prieſt's: at this time
e on board would abuſe them except the captain,
o cauſed ſome men from other ſhips to vex
m. At length there was a ſickneſs in the ſhip,
which forty perſons died in a ſhort time, moſt
hoſe called Quakers had the diſtemper alſo, but
e died of it; the great care they took of one
ther when ſick being noticed by others, cauſed
e of them to cry out when near their end, "O
y me to the Quakers, for they take great care
of another, and they will take ſome care of me
." This viſitation in the ſhip changed the
tain ſo much that he was very kind to Thomas,
granted him a ſmall cabin, which he and his
nds uſed for a meeting place. The captain had
now

now great confidence in Thomas and his friends for as yet they were not againſt fighting, though when with others they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder: ſo that the captain would ſay to other captains, that "he cared not if all his men were Quakers." Though this was a time of liberty, Thomas ſaw that the friendſhip of the captain was but to ſerve his own ends, and therefore expected a time of trial would come, and ſo it did for being at Leghorn they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spaniſh man of war. Their ſituation was to batter a caſtle; from one corner of which ſhot were fired into the ſhip. Thomas was for beating down that part, and the ſo called Quakers fought with as much courage as any going into the fore-caſtle, he levelled the guns, but ſaid, "Fire not, till I go out to ſee where the ſhot lights, that we may level higher or lower." But as he was going to ſee where the ſhot fell, ſud denly a query ran through his mind, "What if thou killeſt a man?" This ſtruck him very forcibly and he that can turn all men's hearts at his pleaſure changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas juſt before he bent all his ſtrength to kill men, he now found no will thereto, though it were to gain the world, believing it was from the Lord then putting on his clothes, he walked on the deck as if he had not ſeen a gun fired: being under great exerciſe of mind, ſome enquired if he was hurt He anſwered, "No, but under ſome ſcruple of conſcience on the account of fighting." Though at that time he knew not that the Quakers refuſed to fight.

When night came, being out of the reach of the caſtle ſhot, he took occaſion to ſpeak to two of his friends in the ſhip, and enquired their judgment concerning fighting: who gave little anſwer to it, ſaying, "If the Lord ſent them well hom

ey would never go to it again." To which he urned, "That if he ſtood honeſt to that of God his own conſcience, and they came to it to-rrow, with the Lord's aſſiſtance he would bear teſtimony againſt it." The next day they heard t ſeveral were killed on ſhore, which grieved omas not a little. Some time after one of omas's friends went to the captain to be cleared, he aſked, "Why?" the anſwer was, that "he ld fight no longer." To which the captain ſaid, He that denies to fight in time of engagement, I put my ſword in his guts." Then ſaid the r, "Thou wilt be a man ſlayer, and guilty of ding blood." For which the captain, who was ptiſt preacher) beat him ſorely with his fiſt and .

ome time after, being at Leghorn, (1655,) they ordered on a cruize, one morning a large ſhip in ſight, and bore down upon them; this they poſed to be a Spaniſh man of war, and orders given to clear ſhip for fighting.

homas was then upon deck, and ſaw that a of trial was come, he prayed earneſtly for gth to be faithful; and collecting his friends her, he told them how it was with him; yet hopes were that the Lord would deliver him all ſuch as were of his faith;" adding, "I lay his as an injunction upon any one, but leave all to the Lord.——I muſt tell you, that the in puts great confidence in you; therefore let careful that we give him no juſt occaſion; ll that are of my mind let us meet in the moſt c place upon the deck, that he may not ſay we ved him, in not telling him that we could not ſo that he might have put others in our room." Thomas went upon the deck, and ſet his againſt the geer-capſtan, and a little after ng his head, he ſaw his friends behind him;

at

at which, though he rejoiced, yet his bowels roll within him, on account of his friends who ſtood ſheep for the ſlaughter. Within a little time ca the lieutenant, and ſaid to one of them; "G down to thy quarters;" to which he returned, " can fight no more." The lieutenant then went the captain and ſaid, " Yonder the Quakers are together; I do not know but they will mutiny, a one ſays he cannot fight." The captain enquir the name of him who had ſaid ſo, came down him, flung his hat over board, and taking hold of collar, beat him with a great cane, then dragged h down to his quarters: then he went again upon t half deck, and called for his ſword, which his m having brought to him, he drew with great fu At this time, the word of the Lord (as Thomas to it to be) ſounded in his mind, " The ſword of t Lord is over him, and if he will have a ſacrifi proffer it him." This word was ſo powerful him, that he quivered and ſhook, though he end voured to ſtop it, leaſt it ſhould be thought he afraid, which he was not; for turning his h over his ſhoulder, he ſaid to his friend Robert De " I muſt go to the captain;" to which he return " Be well ſatisfied in what thou doeſt." Tho replied, " There was a neceſſity upon him." T ſeeing the captain coming on with his dra ſword, he fixed his eye with great ſeriouſneſs u him, and in the fear of the Lord ſtepped tow him. At this the captain's countenance cha pale, turning himſelf about, he called to his to take away his ſword, and went away.

Shortly after, the ſhip they expected to withal, proved to be a Genoeſe, their friend. fore night the captain ſent the prieſt to Thom excuſe his anger, it having been in his paſſion which Thomas anſwered, " I have nothing good will towards him," deſiring the prieſt to

captain, "that he must have a care of such ions, for if he killed a man in his passion, he ght seek for repentance, and not find it." No- ng material happened while he was on board this , which came home safe. Afterwards he went ea in a merchantman or trading ship, at several es he was pressed for the king's service, and ried on board of men of war, where he met with eral rude occurrences and suffered much: once fasted five days, taking only at times a draught water; for, refusing to do any kind of work on rd a man of war, he did not chuse to partake of r victuals. Being once at Harwich, heaving n from a ship into a lighter, he was pressed, but of the company saying that he was a Quaker, captain who was come on board, said scoffingly, f thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting n the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and be toiling thy body," (for Thomas was stripped is shirt and drawers, and warm with working;) r being a little time silent, he said to the captain, perceive thou hast read some part of the scrip- s; didst thou never read that he is worse than an el that will not provide for his family? I have n heard the Quakers blamed for not working, thou art the first I ever heard blame them for king:" at this the captain said, "Turn him , he is a Quaker!" but a little time after he "Pull him again, he is no Quaker." Then essing Thomas, he said, "Thou art no Quaker, ere thou bringest corn, and of it bread is made, e strength of that bread we kill the Dutch, and efore no Quaker: or art not thou as accessary to deaths as we? answer me." After a pause, mas said, "I can feed my enemies, and well I you, who pretend to be my friends." To h the captain replied, "Turn him away, he is aker:" and then they left him.

A few

A few days after he was again preſſed out of t
ſame veſſel, and carried on board a man of wa
there he was ordered before the captain, ſeve
officers being preſent: the captain began to abu
the Quakers, telling Thomas, "If he did not ha
him, he would carry him to the duke of York, a
he would." Thomas ſaid very little, but felt himſ
kept from fear. When the captain had tired hi
ſelf with ſcolding and railing, he ſaid more mild
"What! doſt thou ſay nothing for thyſelf?"
which Thomas replied, "Thou ſayeſt enough f
thee and me too." Notwithſtanding the haughtin
of this captain, he was ſoon ſtruck by a ſuper
power, for the next night a ſudden cry was hea
"Where is the Quaker? Where is the Quaker
Thomas hearing this, ſaid, "Here I am, what do y
want at this time of night?" upon which it was t
him, you muſt come to the captain preſently:
his coming to the cabin door, the captain ſaid, "
the Quaker there?" to which Thomas anſwere
"Yes:" the captain then ſaid, "I cannot ſle
thou muſt go on ſhore;" and he was accordingly
on ſhore at Harwich.

In the year 1663, George Pattiſon coming fr
Venice in his ſhip, was chaſed by a pirate of Algi
endeavouring to eſcape, they carried too much
part of their materials gave way; the Turks c
up with them, and ordered the maſter on boa
who went in his boat with four men, leaving o
his mate, Thomas Lurting, with three men and a
on board his veſſel. The mate was under great e
ciſe of mind; however, believing it was told him
wardly by the Lord, "thou ſhalt not go to Algie
he had from former experience of deliveran
learnt to truſt in God almoſt againſt hope: all f
was removed from him, and he received the Tu
on board as if they were his friends, ſhewed th
all the parts of the veſſel, and what ſhe was la
w

h. Shortly after, at a convenient time, he ſaid he men, "Be not afraid, for all this we ſhall go to Algiers; but let me deſire you, as ye have n willing to obey me, to be as willing to obey Turks." This they promiſed him to do, ſo the Turks, ſeeing the ſeamen's diligence, grew more careleſs; and having taken ſome ſmall ter of the lading, ſome went again to their own and eight Turks ſtaid with the Engliſh.

he maſter and men were ſoon after ſent on board n the Turks, then all fear was taken away from mate concerning going to Algiers: he renewed requeſt to the men to be ordered by him, and ſaid, What if we ſhould overcome the Turks, and go Majorca!" At which they rejoiced: one ſaid, will kill one or two," and others ſpoke in like ner; but at this he was troubled, ſaying, "If ew that any of you would touch a Turk at that I would tell it to the Turks myſelf: but," ſaid he, ye will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will ill:" on hearing this, they agreed to obey him. r ſome reaſoning with the maſter, who was ful of ſpilling blood, he agreed to let Thomas ing act as he would.

he weather becoming hazy, they loſt ſight of the kiſh man of war; the ſecond night after which, captain of the prize and one of his companions aſleep in the cabin with the maſter, the mate uaded one to go to ſleep in his cabin; about an after another went to ſleep in another cabin, t laſt it raining very much, he perſuaded them lie down and ſleep, then he got their arms into oſſeſſion; this being done, he told the men, w we have the Turks at our command, no ſhall hurt any of them, for if you do, I will be ſt you: but this we will do, now they are r deck, we will keep them ſo, and go for Ma- ; towards which place the wind blew fair, and e morning they were near to it. He then or-

dered his men, if any offered to come up, not to le more than one or two out at a time. When on came out, he was much ſurprized to ſee Majorca then ſaid the mate to his men, "Be careful of th door, for when he goes in, we ſhall ſee what the will do; but have a care not to ſpill blood." Th Turk being gone down, told his comrades what h had ſeen; who, inſtead of riſing, all fell a crying for their courage was quite gone; and they begge that they might not be ſold: the mate promiſ that they ſhould not; and when they were a litt appeaſed, he went to the maſter in the cabin, wh knew nothing of what was done, and gave him a account of the change. The captain of the Turk wept, and begged he might not be ſold: the maſte aſſured him that he ſhould not, and propoſed t make a ſecret place in the veſſel to conceal the in, that the Spaniards coming on board might n find them; at which the Turks greatly rejoice The maſter having finiſhed his buſineſs at Majorc omitted to take a licence, leaſt the Spaniards com ing on board ſhould ſee the Turks; but the captai of an Engliſh ſhip, then in the harbour, viſiting Pa tiſon's veſſel, and being told what was done though he promiſed ſilence on the ſubject, (becau he was refuſed two or three of the Turks, whom he deſired to have, with an intention to ſell them when he went on ſhore he told the Spaniards th whole affair. Upon this, Pattiſon and his mate de ſired the Turks to aſſiſt them in getting out to ſe leaſt the Spaniards ſhould come, as they had threa ened to do, and take away the Turks.—Waitin for a fair wind ſeveral days, the Turks attempted t riſe, but were prevented without hurting any o them. At length the maſter and mate concluded t go for the coaſt of Barbary, as moſt likely to avo the Algerine men of war; ſo that in the day tim they were going for Algiers, but in the night the

ſteere

ered for the coaſt of Barbary, by which means y kept the Turks ignorant and quiet.

On the ninth day the Turks were all on deck, h only the maſter, his mate, and the man at the m; when the former began to be ſo haughty and oward, that the mate feared they might ſeize the ſter, and throw him overboard; but recollecting nſelf, he ſtamped with his foot, and the men came , and were about to fall on the Turks in a deſpe- e manner, when the mate forbade them. After ring the Turks threaten the maſter, he laid hold their captain, telling him, "he muſt go down:" ich he did very quietly, and his men followed n.

Two days afterwards, being within ſix miles of d, and, as the Turks ſaid, about fifty from Al- rs, it fell calm: they were in a great ſtrait how put the Turks on ſhore; fearing, if they carried y a part, they might, when landed, alarm the ntry, and come down armed to retake the ſhip. length the mate ſaid, "if the maſter would let have the boat, and three men to go with him, would venture to put the Turks on ſhore." Af- conſideration, the maſter conſented, though not hout dropping ſome tears on both ſides; the e ſaying, 'I have nothing but good will in ven- ing my life; truſting that all will do well, I e not the leaſt fear upon me." He then called the Turks, and going into the boat with two n and a boy, placed their captain in the boat's rn; then calling for another, he placed him in lap; then one on each ſide, and two more in ir laps, until he had placed them all; thus ſitu- d, they could not eaſily riſe: ſeating himſelf in bow, with a boat-hook in his hand, having next him one of the ſhipmen, two others rowed. A penter's adze and a cooper's leading knife were

all the arms they had, except what belonged to the Turks, which were under the command of the mate and his companions. Coming very near to the ſhore, one of the men, being afraid, ſuddenly cried out, "There are Turks in the buſhes on ſhore!" The Turks in the boat attempted to riſe, when the mate told his men "to take up ſuch arms as they had, but to do nothing until he gave them leave." Seeing no men in the buſhes on ſhore, and thinking it better to ſtrike a man than to cleave his head, he ſtruck the captain a ſmart blow with the boat-hook, bidding him ſit down, which he did, and thoſe who had riſen followed his example. When the boat was come ſo near to the ſhore, that they could eaſily wade, the mate ordered the Turks out of the boat, giving them ſome loaves, and other neceſſaries, as they were ſeveral miles from any town. As the Turks were wading to the land, the boat approached it at another part, and then the Engliſh threw the arms, and whatever elſe they had belonging to the Turks, on ſhore.

After endeavouring to perſuade the Engliſhmen to go on ſhore, promiſing to treat them well at the firſt town they came to, but without ſucceſs, they took leave with ſigns of great kindneſs, and aſcended a hill, on the top of which they waved their hands at the Engliſh, and joyfully took their laſt farewel. Thus Thomas Lurting, with the boat, returned to the ſhip, and with a fair wind, returned ſafe to England. As the ſhip came up the river Thames, the King, with the Duke of York, &c. being at Greenwich, they were informed in part of what had paſſed between the Engliſh and the Turks: the King went with his barge to the ſhip's ſide, and held the entering rope in his hand whilſt the mate related to him the particulars of what had happened. When he heard that the

Turk

Turks went free, he ſaid to the maſter, "You have done like a fool, you might have had good gain for them." To the mate he ſaid, "You ſhould have brought the Turks to me;" the mate anſwering, "I thought it better for them to be in their own country;" at which the King and his company ſmiled and went away.

Theſe men made it appear that they not only approved the leſſon of our Saviour, "Love your enemies, and do good to thoſe that hate you," but they alſo put it into practice.

CHAP. V.

PERSECUTIONS IN NEW ENGLAND CONTINUED.

THOUGH the government of New England was reſtrained from putting the Quakers to death and granted them liberty for a while, it laſted not long. The diſpoſition of the magiſtrates was ſtill the ſame.

In 1662, Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambroſe, and Anne Coleman, came under a religious concern to viſit their friends about Piſcataqua river. They had not been long there, before Rayner, a prieſt of Dover, excited the magiſtrates to perſecute them. They brought them before Walden, a deputy magiſtrate, who telling them of the law they had to puniſh them, Mary Tomkins anſwered, "So there was a law that Daniel ſhould not pray to his God." He replied, "Yes, and Daniel ſuffered, and ſo ſhall you." Alſo when A. Ambroſe ſaid, "Her name was written in the Lamb's book of Life," he anſwered, "Nobody here knows that book, and for this you ſhall ſuffer." On this occaſion the prieſt

ſupplying the place of a clerk, formed for him warrant or order*.

This order was executed at Dover, while the prieſt ſtood by and laughed; for which cruel lewd Eliakim Wardel and William Fourbiſh reproved him; when the magiſtrate cauſed them to be put in the ſtocks. They were then conveyed to Hampton and then again whipped, and alſo at Saliſbury; by the conſtable of that town, deputing a perſon to convey them farther, he, moved with compaſſion, determined to run the hazard of breaking the law, and ſet them at liberty, whereby the prieſt was diſappointed of his aim, which ſeemed to be to take away their lives, which in all likelihood had been the caſe if the conſtables of theſe eleven townſhips had executed the warrant with ſuch ſeverity as he had excited the conſtable of Dover to do, the diſtance from Dover, to the end of the juriſdiction, being about eighty miles.

After a little time they returned again to Dover where, being met together with other friends on the firſt day of the week, whilſt A. Ambroſe was

* "To the Conſtables of Dover, Hampton, Saliſbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipſwich, Wenham, Linn, Boſton, Roxbury, Dedham, and until theſe vagabond Quakers are carried out of this juriſdiction.

"You and every of you are required, in the King's majeſty's name, to take theſe vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambroſe, and make them faſt to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your ſeveral towns to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten ſtripes a piece on each of them, in each town, and ſo convey them from conſtable to conſtable, till they come out of this juriſdiction, as you will anſwer it at your peril: and this ſhall be your warrant.

"Per me,

"RICHARD WALDEN.

At Dover,
Dated Dec, 22, 1662.

pray

rayer, two conſtables, Thomas Roberts and John
s brother, came into the meeting, and taking her
ch by an arm, dragged her out of doors, and then
rough the ſnow, which was knee-deep, over
umps and old trees near a mile; when they had
earied themſelves, they commanded two others to
lp them: then they fetched Mary Tomkins, and
eated her in like manner. The next morning,
hich was exceſſively cold, they forced them into
canoe, together with Anne Coleman, (who had in
ve accompanied them,) and carried them to the
rbour's mouth, threatening that they would now
ſpoſe of them ſo, as that they would be troubled
th them no more. And becauſe they were not
lling to go, they forced them down a ſteep place
the ſnow, dragging Mary Tomkins again over
umps of trees to the water ſide, whereby ſhe was
uch bruiſed, and fainted under their hands. Anne
mbroſe they pulled into the water, and kept her
imming by the canoe, in danger of drowning, or
ng frozen to death. They would in all probabi-
y have proceeded in their deſign of murdering
em, had they not been prevented by a ſtorm,
hich drove them back to the houſe where they
d kept them all the night before. They kept
em there till near midnight, and then turned
em out of doors, in the froſt and ſnow, tho' Anne
mbroſe's clothes were frozen. The barbarity ex-
iſed on theſe women was ſuch that, to all human
obability, they muſt have periſhed, had not Provi-
nce in a ſignal manner preſerved them. It did
t appear that theſe men had any legal authority
what they did, but that they were encouraged
this abuſe of theſe harmleſs women by a ruling
der of their church, (miſcalled) "Hate-evil Nut-
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er of their church, (miſcalled) "Hate-evil Nut-
."

Amongſt the number releaſed from priſon with
enlock Chriſtiſon, were Elizabeth Hooton and

Joan Brockſup, two ancient women, each about 6
years of age, being driven with the reſt into th
wilderneſs, and left there among wolves and bear
without neceſſary proviſions; they were compelled t
wander through places uninhabited and hardly pa
ſable, till they came to Rhode-Iſland, thence t
Barbadoes, and from thence not long after returne
to New England; for to that province was their me
ſage, to teſtify againſt the ſpirit of perſecution predo
minant there. Upon their coming to Boſton the
were preſently apprehended by a conſtable, a fur
ous zealot, who declared, "It was his delight, an
he could rejoice in following the Quakers to execu
tion as much as ever." They were immediatel
ſent away to Virginia, from whence Elizabet
Hooton went back to England.

After ſome time ſhe felt the impulſe of duty t
return to New Englan; but previouſly to her go
ing, ſhe made application to the King, and obtaine
his licence to purchaſe for herſelf a dwelling in an
of his plantations. Thus authoriſed, ſhe and he
daughter ſet ſail in a ſhip bound for Boſton, where
when they arrived, the magiſtrates were determine
to fine the maſter of the ſhip one hundred pounds
until they were informed ſhe had a licence from
the King, which deterred them from executing tha
deſign; but in contempt of the King's licence an
her ſolicitations, they perſiſted in their reſolution
not to ſuffer her to purchaſe any habitation there
Inſtead thereof they let her feel the effects of thei
malicious diſpoſition, which had ſuffered no dimi
nution by the reſtraint put upon them. At Dove
ſhe was ſet in the ſtocks, and kept four days in pri
ſon in cold weather. At Cambridge ſhe was impri
ſoned in a cloſe ſtinking dungeon, without any fur
niture, two days and nights without bread or water
and when a friend brought her ſome milk, being
greatly exhauſted, he was fined five pounds an
ſeve

nt to priſon. She was then whipped through
ree towns, Cambridge, Watertown and Dedham,
th ten ſtripes in each, with a three-ſtringed whip
d three knots at the end, and in this mangled con-
tion was carried on horſeback in froſty weather
any miles into the wilderneſs, and left there
nong wild beaſts, in the hazard of periſhing there;
her proſecutors expreſſed their hopes that "they
ould never ſee her more." And in all probabi-
y ſhe muſt have periſhed, had not a providential
nd preſerved her ſafe through the diſmal deſert and
ny deep waters to a town called Rehoboth,
here ſhe arrived the next day, and from thence
de her way to Rhode-Iſland, praiſing the name
the Lord, who had ſignally ſupported her through
h grievous tortures, as to her age and ſex in all
tward appearance were inſupportable. But her
ferings had not yet ſatiated the vindictive hatred
her perſecutors, as they would not permit her
take her clothes with her, when they ſent her
ay, ſhe returned to a place near Cambridge ac-
mpanied by her daughter to fetch them; and as
y were paſſing with them to Rhode Iſland,
omas Daufort, a magiſtrate, made out a warrant
he conſtable of Charleſtown, to apprehend them
Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman of Scituate,
o had accidentally met them in the woods as they
re travelling. They were taken back to Cambridge,
ſed by the ſcholars, and then all three committed
he houſe of correction, and whipped by order of
niel Goggin, tho' no juſt cauſe could be aſſigned.
zabeth Hooton came at this time on the reaſonable
nd of reclaiming her property, her daughter was
ty of no offence but the filial duty of aſſiſting her
ient mother, and the other accidentally fell into
r company. The magiſtrates, not ſatisfied
h what they had ſuffered, ſent an order to
ake them from conſtable to conſtable toward

Rhode-Iſland, to be whipped in three towns." R
turning to Boſton and preaching repentance, ſ
was again ſent to the houſe of correction, whipp
at the whipping-poſt as before, and afterwards
Roxbury and Dedham at a cart's tail; thence ſ
was again taken in a mangled condition into t
wilderneſs, and left there to make her way twen
miles, the weather ſtill continuing very cold. So
after returning to Boſton to viſit her friends, ſ
was again caſt into priſon, whipped from the priſ
door to the town's end, and then ſent away to Rho
Iſland, with a warrant to whip her from town
town, threatening "if ever ſhe came thither aga
they would either put her to death or brand her
the ſhoulder." Nine times was ſhe tortured w
ſevere whippings, twice expoſed to perils in t
wilderneſs, and left to periſh, as far as in the pow
of theſe hypocritical profeſſors of religion.

Edward Wharton, of Salem, whoſe baniſhme
on pain of death, hath been before recited; but t
king's mandamus having prevented the perſecut
from carrying their ſentence into execution, (
as he told them, he did not depart from their ju
diction, but kept his habitation) they omitted
opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon hi
and make his reſidence there as uneaſy as in th
power.

In the ſummer of the year 1663, he went i
the court at Dover, a place where perſecution h
been hotly carried on, and expreſſed himſelf in
following terms: "Woe to all oppreſſors and p
ſecutors, for the indignation of the Lord is aga
them; therefore, friends, whilſt you have ti
prize the day of his patience, and ceaſe to do e
and learn to do well: Ye who ſpoil the poor
devour the innocent."

Having ſaid this, he was immediately apprehe
ded, and ſet in the ſtocks till they might con
w

what to do with him. The result of their consultation was, that he should be severely punished as a vagabond Quaker, though well known to them as a reputable inhabitant of Salem, and about his lawful business: the clerk, as he was drawing it up, Wm. Hathorne called to him, and bade him write in the king's majesty's name. Whereupon Edw. Wharton made his objection, "Friends, you wrong the king and abuse his name, for I believe he never gave you order so to abuse his honest subjects." However, the court made an order* to whip him, &c. to which sentence Edward answered, "I fear not the worst you may be suffered to do to me, neither do I look for favour at your hands." The sentence was immediately executed at Dover, and the executioner told him he must prepare to receive the like at the next town. But refusing to go, he was put upon a horse's back, having neither bridle nor halter, nor any thing to hold by but the pommel of the saddle. In this ignominious manner, one leading the horse and two others guarding him on each side, he was carried like a notorious criminal from town to town, and whipped as the warrant directed.

Soon after this, two of his friends, John Lyddal and Thomas Newhouse, being at a meeting at Salem, were apprehended, and by Hathorne or-

* "To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich and Wenham.

"You and every of you are required, in his majesty's name, to receive into your custody Edward Wharton, a vagabond Quaker, and convey him from town to town until he come to his habitation in Salem; and the constables of Dover, Hampton and Newbury are to whip him through their respective towns at a cart's tail, not exceeding ten stripes in each town, according to the law of vagabond Quakers in that behalf. This being the sentence of a court held at Dover the 4th of July, 1663.

ELIAS STILMAN, cleric."

dered to be whipped through three towns. Edward remonſtrating againſt this and other proceedings of this nature, was ſentenced to be whipped with fourteen laſhes, which were inflicted at the whipping poſt in the ſaid town.

About the ſame time Joſeph Nicholſon, Jane Millard, and Anne Coleman were cruelly whipped through Salem, Boſton and Dedham; the latter of whom, it is thought would have loſt her life, thro' the extreme torture ſhe was put to, by the knots of the whip ſplitting one of the knipples of her breaſt; and it was a conſiderable time before ſhe recovered.

Edw. Wharton went about ſome temporal concern to Rhode-Iſland, and from thence he, with George Preſton and Wenlock Chriſtiſon, went to Boſton, and aſſembled there with others of their friends to wait on God. Rawſon, the ſecretary, coming to the knowledge thereof, iſſued his warrant to take a ſtranger, a preacher among the Quakers, &c. but before the conſtable reached the houſe the meeting was ended, and the ſtranger gone. Searching Nicholas Upſhall's houſe, he found E. Wharton there, and inſiſted upon his going before the governor; but Edward demanding a ſight of his warrant, and not being mentioned therein, he refuſed to go under a warrant, in which being neither named nor deſcribed, it was in no reſpect a warrant againſt him. But the conſtable dragged him out of the houſe, and took him before the governor, who immediately, notwithſtanding he knew him very well, as a reputable tradeſman of the colony, and had been perſonally obliged to him *, told him, "he ſhoul

* William Sewel, p. 339, writes that Endicot had been formerly in a circumſtance to acknowledge Edward Wharton's friendſhip to him, when he ſupplied him with neceſſaries in his want, promiſing then, that "if ever it lay in his power he would requite him." In what manner he made that promiſe good theſe anecdotes make manifeſt.

ſuffe

ffer as a vagabond." To which Edward replied, I defy the life of a vagabond; that law is a icked law, and wicked and unrighteous men they e that cauſe thoſe who fear the Lord to ſuffer by ch a wicked law." But this remonſtrance availed ot; the governor turned a deaf ear to his rea- ning; and iſſued his warrant for him to be ipped at a cart's tail, through the towns of Boſton d Lynn, and thence paſſed to Salem, the place his abode.

When the warrant was written, Edward was told, t "if he would promiſe the governor to come no re to the Quakers meetings at Boſton, it was ely he would diſcharge him." To which he re- ed, "Not for all the world; I have a back to d to the ſmiter, and I have felt your cruel whip- gs before now, and the Lord hath made me able bear them, and as I abide in his fear, I need fear what you ſhall be ſuffered to do unto me; ſurely the Lord will viſit you for the blood of innocent, and your day is coming, as it is come on many, who but as yeſterday were higher than r you were or are likely to be, but now are made loweſt of many, and truly my ſoul laments for ."

The next day he was cruelly whipped through ſton, almoſt a mile, and ſent away to Lynn; the conſtable there conſidering him as a well- wn inhabitant of Salem, and the warrant an il- al one, refuſed to execute it.

Toward the end of next month A. Ambroſe and Tomkins being returned from Virginia, where had been ſeverely treated, and the latter, be- very ſick near unto death, E. Wharton and W. illiſon having intelligence thereof, came from m to Boſton to viſit their ſick friend. They e no ſooner come to the houſe where ſhe was, two conſtables followed, and forced them all together

together before the governor, although the ſic
woman, through extreme weakneſs, fell down b
the way as dead, yet they waited till ſhe recoved
little, and took her with the reſt. Wenlock an
the two women were ordered to be whipped out
the juriſdiction, but their ſentence, through the i
terceſſion of Col. Temple, was remitted. As fo
E. Wharton, he being an acknowledged inhabita
now (although ſo lately a vagabond) they reſolv
upon another courſe with him, and thereupon i
formed him that "unleſs he would ſubſcribe
theſe four propoſitions: 1ſt, To promiſe to co
no more to any Quakers meetings in Boſton. 2
That when he came to Boſton he ſhould acquaint t
governor and his deputy forthwith, and of his bu
neſs. 3d, That he would take the oath of fidelit
And 4th, To give bond for his good behavio
" he ſhould be tied to a great gun, and ſevère
whipped with thirty ſtripes on his naked body
A ſevere and arbitary alternative; yet he was n
long in determining his choice, telling them th
" he would not comply with their propoſals
whereupon Daufort drew up a warrant, and g
Endicot to ſign it:

Then they led him to the market place, a
bound his arms to the wheels of a great gun, a
barbarouſly whipped him with thirty ſtripes, ſo t
it was teſtified that peas might lie in the ho
which the knots of the whip had torn in his fle
his body was much ſwelled and very black from
waiſt upwards. In that condition they led him,
the warrant directed, not the neareſt way to Sal
but round about the country, as if to expoſe him
the people as a ſpectacle.

Soon after the ſigning this warrant Endicot
deprived of his power, being ſeized with a loa
ſome diſeaſe, which cauſed a nauſeous putre
t

ion before his breath left him, and terminated in his death.

Of his confederates ſome were gone before, and the reſt were taken away one by one, ſo that from this time perſecution in New England gradually abated, as the perſecutors loſt their ſtrength, and the eyes of the people began to be opened, to ſee the evil of theſe rigorous meaſures, and more generally to condemn them, the magiſtrates became more cautious; yet we ſhall in ſundry inſtances, ſee the veſtiges of the perſecuting ſpirit endeavouring to exert its power for the puniſhment of divers of this people ſeveral years after this, even till the Indians made deſtructive incurſions into their juriſdiction, which brought on a war, and gave them more ſerious employment—to repel enemies much more formidable than the Quakers.

Edw. Wharton, however, did not find all his perſecutors removed in Endicot, for ſome months after, he was again cruelly whipped, and impriſoned one month, for no other cauſe than accompanying ſome of his friends to Boſton, who came thither to ſeek a paſſage to England.

DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

ABOUT the year 1661, two Engliſh women were impriſoned in the inquiſition at Malta, above three years: their names were Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. Theſe women, under a religious concern took their paſſage in a ſhip bound from London to Leghorn, where, through various trials, they at length ſafely arrived, and ſtayed ſome time, during which they uſed their endeavours to anſwer the end of their coming, by diſperſing ſundry books, explaining the doctrines of this people, and diſcourſing

courſing upon religion with the people who came to them, of whom curioſity drew numbers of all ranks daily; and in theſe their chriſtian endeavours they met with no moleſtation here.

From hence having got a paſſage in a Dutch ſhip, with intention to go to Alexandria, the maſter put into Malta, where he tarried ſome time. Next day after their arrival, being the firſt of the week, they went on ſhore, where they were met by the Engliſh conſul, who enquiring the cauſe of their coming, they informed him, and gave him ſome books; upon which he let them know there was an inquiſition there; and kindly invited them to his houſe. While they abode here, curioſity drew many to viſit them, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, whereby ſeveral were affected. They went by deſire to the nunnery, to ſee the governor's ſiſter there, where they diſcourſed with the nuns and gave them ſome books. Here a prieſt brought them into the chapel, and wanted them to bow to the high altar; but they refuſed, with abhorrence of that idolatry, and went back to the conſul's where they continued about three months, during which time they were repeatedly called before the inquiſitors, and examined by them about their religious principles; and through the wiſdom and integrity they were favoured with, anſwered their interrogatories in ſuch manner as not to give them the advantage againſt them, which they were ſeeking for, nor give away the cauſe of that truth they believed in, by the leaſt compliance with their requiſitions to adopt their errors. The inquiſitors not adventuring to take them out of the conſul's houſe without his conſent or acquieſcence, yet, deſirous to get them into their power, at length prevailed upon him by their flattery, their menaces and (as was afterwards diſcovered) by bribery, to violate his duty, and withdraw his protection ſo

to ſuffer them to be taken by the officers of the quiſition; for which purpoſe he confined them his own houſe, though the governor had ſigni- d his willingneſs that they ſhould retain their full erty, as believing them to be honeſt women. e conſul by fair carriage was deſirous to conceal infincere conduct; but they being under a ſenſe t meaſures were in contemplation to their preju- e, and ſuſpecting the conſul to be a party there- hinted to him their ſuſpicions, remarking, that Pilate would willingly do the Jews a pleaſure, et waſh his hands in innocency;" which re- k, his conſciouſneſs of his duplicity applied e to himſelf, ſo that he required a ſign of them, hey were the meſſengers of God: And they ified that this might ſerve for a ſign, "That it ould go well with them, but it would not go off ell with him."

oon after the conſul informed them that they e ſent for by the inquiſition, in purſuance of or- from Rome, but that he hoped they would be free; wherein he ſtill diſſembled, knowing (as afterwards diſcovered) that they would be de- ed in priſon. They were taken into cuſtody he officers of the inquiſition, and carried before lord inquiſitor, whoſe firſt queſtion was, "Whe- they had changed their minds?" To which anſwered, "No, and that they ſhould not ange from the truth." Then he aſked, "What w light it was they talked of?" They replied, was no new light, but the ſame the prophets and oſtles bore teſtimony to." Next he aſked, ow this light came to be loſt ſince the pri- tive times?" They anſwered, "It was not t, but men did not comprehend it, by rea- of the night of apoſtacy which had over- ead the nations." Then he threatened them, ey would change their minds they ſhould

ſay

ſay ſo, or elſe they would uſe them as they pleaſe
but they ſignified they would not change, addi
"The will of the Lord be done." Upon this t
inquiſitor and conſul withdrew, and left them
the officers to conduct them to their priſon, wh
was a cloſe dark room, with only two little ho
for light and air, and ſo extremely hot, that
ſeemed as if the intention of the inquiſitor wa
ſtifle them to death.

They were brought under examination again a
again, but no anſwer could be extorted from th
to turn to their diſadvantage; and being ſtill k
cloſe priſoners, the conſul, who had been fo
warned that his connivance at their apprehen
would not go off well with him, became troub
to that degree, that he came to them with te
in his eyes, expreſſing his ſorrow for their de
tion; and he offered back what he had recei
for delivering them up, but could not prevail
have them ſet at liberty; and is ſaid to have
joyed no peace after as long as he lived.

To deſcribe minutely all the ſufferings they
tiently endured during a cruel impriſonment
three or four years would lead me into too m
prolixity. They were continually perplexed w
the impertinences of monks and friars, to ca
terrify or beguile them into conformity to t
ſuperſtitions; but all their efforts were ineffec

But it looked as if their deſign was rather to
them put out of the way without noiſe, than to exe
them publickly. They were therefore put in
room ſo exceedingly cloſe and ſuffocating, th
was thought they could not ſurvive there lo
where they were ſo ſtung by gnats, that their f
were ſpotted and ſwelled as if they had been in
ſmall pox. They were often forced to riſe ou
their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door
air to draw breath. By the exceſſive heat of
ro

om, their ſkin was parched, their hair fell off, d they frequently fainted away. Their affliction re was too ſevere for humanity in its beſt ſtate, pecially in tender women, to ſupport, ſo that at nes they were tempted to wiſh for death, to put end to their ſorrows.

It was not admirable that Catharine, by this treatent, fell into a fit of ſickneſs, and the monks once inging with them a phyſician, as they had done veral times before, telling them it was in charity, tharine aſked them, "Whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring the phyſician to keep them longer alive n torment?" To this it was replied, "It was better to keep them there than to kill them." ey wrote to the inquiſitor, pleading their innocy, and complaining of the hardſhips they ſuſned; adding, "if it was their blood they thirſted fter, they might as well take away their lives ome other way as ſmother them there." This nonſtrance he took ſo ill, that he ordered their horns to be taken away. They aſked, "Why heir goods were taken away?" and were anered, "All is ours, and your lives too, if we vill." He ordered them to be ſeparated; but en they came to part them, Catharine's diſorder become one continued eruption from head foot, whereupon the doctor was ſent for, who , "They muſt have air, or elſe they would ie." This being reported to the inquiſitor, he ered the door to be ſet open ſix hours in the .

Soon after they were ſeparated, in hopes to make e impreſſion upon them, by attacking them ſeately; but their aſſailants were diſappointed, for y found them afterwards as immoveable as be-, being ſtrengthened ſeparately as well as joint- o reſiſt all their attempts.

The

The houſe of the inquiſition being rebuilding
repairing in ſome parts for the ſpace of a year a
a half, furniſhed them with frequent opportuniti
even here, to preach, not only among the wo
men, who were well affected and obliging to the
but often to the citizens of better quality who ca
to view the building.

Sometimes they ſpoke ſo effectually to thoſe w
came to ſee them, that they could not gainſay t
truths they declared, but were made to confeſs th
God was with them. And Catharine's priſon b
ing ſo near the ſtreet that ſhe could be heard b
thoſe that paſſed, ſhe frequently found it her du
particularly as they went to and from the place
worſhip, to call them to repentance, and to tu
them to the light, which would lead them from
ſinful ways and errors in worſhip, to ſerve God
ſpirit and in truth, which ſeemed to have a con
derable effect on many, who would ſtay to he
as long as they durſt, for they were narrow
watched, and the conſequence of their ſtopp
might have been impriſonment at leaſt. Oth
greatly offended, applied to the inquiſitor to ha
them chained, or puniſhed ſome other way; a
many of the lower order, imbittered by the prie
manifeſted great malice in their words and actio

Thus they not only withſtood all the efforts
the monks to beguile them, but bore teſtimo
to the truth, and againſt the ſuperſtition of t
religion eſtabliſhed there. Sundry interceſſi
were made to the inquiſitor, both by their frie
and others, particularly by Francis Stuart,
London, a maſter of a ſhip, who coming to t
city, in company with an Iriſh friar, and engag
the aſſiſtance of the new conſul, made intereſt
get them releaſed by application to the chief m
giſtrate, the inquiſitor, the magiſtrates and fria
and obtained the conſent of all or moſt of th

their releaſe. except the inquiſitor, who told
m, "He could not ſet them free without an or-
er from the pope." Theſe men were howe-
admitted to ſpeak with them (a privilege rarely
nted) the maſter with tears informed them of the
ffectual pains he had taken to procure their li-
y; "It is this inquiſitor," ſaid he, "that pre-
ents it; you have preached to this people."
which they replied, "That it was to preſerve
e teſtimony of a good conſcience; and the
uth they had borne witneſs to amongſt them,
ey ſhould ſtand to maintain, even with their
ood."

he next effort for their liberty was made by
iel Baker, one of the ſame profeſſion; who,
r a concern for propagating true religion, in
pany with John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and
ard Scoſtrop, had travelled to Leghorn, whence
bs and Fell took their departure for Alexan-
; and Baker and Scoſtrop for Smyrna and
ſtantinople; they preaching every where the
of Chriſt, and exhorting all to obedience
to. This doctrine, delivered in meekneſs,
accompanied by inoffenſive deportment, was
ved with contempt, more by the profeſſors of
ſtianity, than the Turks, Jews and Greeks.
n they arrived at Smyrna, they were ſent back
e Engliſh conſul to Zant, where R. Scoſtrop
D. Baker got paſſage from thence to Venice,
o to Leghorn, and at length to Malta, to viſit
aforeſaid women, with whom he had real
athy, being engaged in the ſame cauſe. He
ned acceſs to the inquiſitor, and in the Ita-
anguage, "demanded the juſt liberty of the
Engliſh women in priſon in the inquiſition."
inquiſitor aſked, whether he was related
em as a huſband or kinſman? and whether
he

he came out of England on purpose to make this ap
plication? He answered, that he came from Leghor
for that purpose. The inquisitor told him, the
should lie in prison till they died, except som
English merchants, or others of sufficient abilit
would give an obligation of three or four thousan
dollars, that they should never return thither.

He repeated his solicitations, but could obtain n
other answer. During his stay of twenty-four da
on the island, he frequently visited the prisoners
the hazard of his life; administered to their nece
sities, and received several letters from them
take over to their friends in England; and thou
he was daily threatened with the inquisition, r
turned safe to England, where he was soon aft
taken with others from the meeting at Bull a
Mouth, in the 5th month (July) 1662; and aft
being detained some hours for a gazing-stock
the people in Paul's yard, was taken in the eveni
before Alderman Brown, who ordered his attenda
to smite him, which they did; and pulling h
four or five times to the ground, beat him w
their fists, and wrung his neck, to gratify the
temper of their master; who, when he was satisf
with abusing him and his companions, commit
them to Newgate. It was not without reason t
Daniel Baker, reflecting on the treatment he had
with abroad, told him that Turks and Pagans wo
be ashamed of such brutish actions.

At last, after these women had endured the se
rities of their imprisonment in the inquisition
wards of three years, G. Fox and Gilbert Latey
derstanding that the Lord d'Aubigny could proc
their liberty, applied to him for his friendly in
position, by writing to the magistrates there in t
favour; which he readily promised to do, and
mediation was so successful as to obtain their
lease in the following manner:

The lord inquiſitor with the chancellor and hers came to the priſon, and aſked them, "Whether they would return to England to their huſbands and children?" They replied, "It was their intent, in the will of God ſo to do." Whereon they were releaſed, and the inquiſitor courteſly took his leave of them, wiſhing them a proſrous journey to their own country, as did the her officers, without making any demand of fees their attendance. Being thus reſtored to liber- they kneeled down and prayed unto God not lay to their charge the evil they had done unto m. And then they were delivered into the con-'s hands.

After about eleven weeks reſidence at his uſe, the Sapphire frigate coming to the iſland k them in, together with ſome knights of Malta, e of whom was the inquiſitor's brother, who en intereſted himſelf with the captain in their our, requeſting they might want no accommoion the ſhip afforded. From Malta they came Leghorn, where the merchants treated them h remarkable kindneſs, ſending them wine and er things for their refreſhment. From hence y paſſed to Tangier, at that time beſieged by Moors, notwithſtanding which they went into town, and got many opportunities of exhort- the people to the amendment of their lives, they flocked greatly to the houſe where they ged: they paid a viſit to the governor, who ived them courteouſly, took their admonition good part, and ſignified his purpoſe to follow ir counſel. He would have given them money, ich they were not free to accept, but gratefully nowledged his kindneſs. From Tangier they t aboard another ſhip for England, where, after e ſtorms, they arrived in ſafety, rejoicing in the

Lord

Lord, and magnifying his mercy manifeſted in the wonderful deliverance*.

Severe as the ſufferings of theſe women in the inquiſition were, they fell ſhort of thoſe of John Phil and William Moore, who being with other friends Germany in the beginning of the year 1662, pro ceeded into Hungary, on a viſit to the Hortefch brethren, who were a kind of Baptiſts living in community, and in imitation of the primitive Chri tians, having their goods in common: they alſo r fuſed to ſwear or fight, and dwelt by hundreds them together in a family. By the informati they had previouſly obtained, and further directio on the way, they made a proſperous journey to t neareſt body of this people, reſiding near Cuſtr about a day's journey from Preſburg, where th were hoſpitably entertained. They here diſperſ ſome religious books, which they had with the They had afterwards ſome favourable opportuniti of exerciſing their goſpel labours amongſt them

After they found themſelves clear of their ſervi there, they inquired after other families of th brethren, and were informed of one, three hund miles farther, at a city called Pattock, in Upper Hu gary; at the ſame time they were diſſuaded theſe people from going ſo far, but rather to and viſit the families thereabouts. With this p poſal, although William was eaſy to comply, his companion thinking it his duty to go forw he had not freedom to leave him, as John did underſtand the language, of which he had ſo knowledge.

They therefore continued their journey to Pr

* For ſome time previous to their diſcharge, their integ and blameleſs demeanour had made an impreſſion on both magiſtrates and inquiſitor in their favour, ſo that the latter laxed in his ſeverity; he ordered that they ſhould be ſupp again with pens, ink and paper, to write to their friends.

g, towards Comora, and on the way finding a
t going with meal to the garriſon at Newhauſel,
ich was on the way to Pattock, they endeavour-
to get a paſſage in it. The boatmen aſking
ether they had any acquaintance there, and whe-
r they had a paſs? and being anſwered in the
ative, they told them it would be dangerous go-
thither, and alſo to travel further in theſe parts,
ng tributary to the Turks; that they would be
danger of being killed by the countrymen or
rks; and in equal danger if they went to New-
ſel, as at that garriſon they uſually put thoſe to
h who were found on the tributary ground
hout permiſſion. John Philly notwithſtanding
g deſirous to proceed, they went on till they
e near Comora, and lodged at an Hungarian's;
not being able to underſtand one another,
ſent for a ſtudent from the college, with
m William converſed in Latin. The ſtudent
iring concerning their country, and the pur-
of their journey, William told him they came
Great Britain, and were deſirous to go to Pat-
. Afterwards they entered into diſcourſe about
ion, and in concluſion the ſtudent, taking his
e, wiſhed them wel., though his ſentiments, he
differed vaſtly from theirs.

omora is in Schut, an iſland in the Danube,
h river they muſt therefore croſs to get to it;
made ſigns to a countryman to put them over,
olding out money to him, being ignorant of the
they would run. He was accordingly get-
his boat ready, when a Dutchwoman coming
called out to him, What are you about? and
theſe ſtrangers the governor would preſently
him to be hanged, if he took them over.
ey returned to their lodging. Here William
g heard there were many Dutch people on the
ſide of the town, went over the next day, and

without apprehenſion of the conſequence, took ou
ſome books, in order to ſeek an opportunity to co
vey them to Pattock. Meeting a ſoldier, and ha
ing one of the books in his hand, the ſoldier, loo
ing at the title, told him of a certain place in t
neighbourhood, which was in Turkey, whither,
he went, he might have good days there; to wh
William ſignified his purpoſe to return back, a
proceeded to the water ſide, in order to rejoin
companion, whom he had left behind. Here t
ſoldier came up to him, and told him, he m
come to the captain, before whom appearing
cordingly, he aſked for the book, and looking i
it, aſked William if he was a Quaker? to wh
he anſwered, *Yea*. The captain, in a paſſion, ſ
Theſe rogues ſhew no reſpect, and that he wa
young *Huſs** come to ſeduce the people, and m
uproars. He then cauſed him to be ſtripped
ſearched, and took away his money. William
ing him to underſtand he would not like ſuch tr
ment himſelf, he told him, When you get o
you ſhall have your money; but that is not
to be the caſe. Being ſent to the guard,
ſhackled hands and feet, they endeavoured to te
him, by inſinuating as if he ſhould be roaſted
wooden ſpit, as ſome had been, who had but
gone to the next village without their order.
endeavoured to compoſe himſelf in reſignation,
pecting little leſs than immediate death. He
deſirous to convey intelligence to his companio
his ſituation, and told the ſoldiers he had a co
nion in the inn on the other ſide, who would

* JOHN HUSS was one of the firſt reformers from the
of popery in *Germany* and *Bohemia*. He was burnt at a
1415. When the faggots were piled up to his neck, the
of Bavaria deſired him to abjure: "No," ſaid Huſs, "I
preached any doctrines of an evil tendency; and what I
with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood."

Fox's Book of M

er what had become of him, if he did not hear. On this intelligence they went over and apprehend- him, though unconcerned in the crime they im- uted to William, which was his going over into e garriſon. They were committed to ſeparate riſons, William to the Stockhouſe, and John to e room appropriated to the purpoſe of putting the riſoners to the rack, where he had only the pro- ect of the implements of torture before him.

The day following they were brought before the quiſitor, who demanded of them, Whence they ere? Whither they intended? Who was the au- or of their coming forth? What money they d taken up? William was farther examined ncerning the books, and told it was a capital ime, and would coſt him his life; to which he gnified, What he had done therein he had done in nplicity. To the next queſtion, Who had ſpoken them in their lodging? he anſwered, A ſtudent. his ſtudent being accordingly ſent for, his inform- on was taken down in writing; but it doth not pear that any cauſe of crimination could be drawn erefrom, as to their pretended crime of coming ſpies, or with treacherous intention, to the garri- n. At a future examination the inquiſitor had e ſtudent's information in his hand, but would t read it openly. When nothing as to their pre- nded crime could be made out, the inquiſitor told em the books were enough, though there were thing elſe; and then aſked, Whether they did t know that Catholics had laws to burn heretics, d ſuch as carried ſuch books? to which William rily replied, "I ſhould not have expected ſuch dealings among good Chriſtians."

The inquiſitor opening a book, read or appeared read therein, that perſons who carry ſuch books d papers are to be put to the rack. They were peatedly brought to examination in the firſt eight ys after their apprehenſion, and ſundry enſnaring

queſtions put to them, as what they thought of the ſacrament; to which William replied, "The fleſh profiteth little, it is the ſpirit that quickeneth." This inquiſitor was ſo ſtrangely unacquainted with the ſcriptures, that in a ſurpriſe he applied to a prieſt preſent, "Sir, father, how is that?" who re collecting himſelf, ſaid, "he did remember ſuch a expreſſion." The inquiſitor next aſked him if he would turn Catholic?" to which he replied, "I I ſhould do ſo for fear or favour of you, the Lo not requiring it of me, I ſhould not have peace my conſcience, and the diſpleaſure of the Lo would be more intolerable than yours; addi that compulſion might make hypocrites, but Chriſtians.

Being thus tempted till the eighth day, with the diſcovery of any crime from their own confe ſion, or the information of others, their perſecut proceeded to their uſual reſource, to extort the co feſſion they wanted by torture. Of this, the ſ ferer, William Moore, gives the following accou in a letter to William Caton, written ſoon after releaſe:

"Notwithſtanding our innocence, the gover would have us racked, which ſeemed to me, acc ing to relation, a cruel torment; and in thoſe I often poured out my ſupplications to the L with tears. They made ready the benches, lig the candles, put John out of his room, and ſent me, the inquiſitor ſitting there, and two more ficers, and the marſhal and executioner by th The inquiſitor, addreſſing himſelf to me, ſaid, liam, that you may not think we deal with yo tyrants, we will inform you that you may tell you know in time, for if you be racked you wi a miſerable man, and muſt have your head cu beſides. But I told them I had done no evil th knew of, nor had any in my heart againſt th

Then he read a few lines to this purpoſe; we Leo-
ald, Emperor, &c. having underſtood of two im-
eached perſons, John Philly and William Moore,
ound by our frontier garriſons, our deſire is they
ould be racked, to know their intent. And then
e executioner, by their order, put an iron ſcrew
rd upon my thumbs, and bade me tell out. Then
ſlacked them and ſcrewed them harder again;
t their aim not being gained thereby, he was
mmanded to proceed farther; upon which he tied
ſmall cord about my wriſts behind my back, and
other cord about my ankles, with a battel of wood
tween my feet, and forced my body quite from
e ladder; and at the firſt pull, my left arm being
ſlocated, gave a loud crack, then he was ordered
put it in joint again. So he ſlackened: and then
y told me, they had three things eſpecially,
ich they wanted to be informed in; 1ſt, Why I
ed the ſtudent if one ſhould come to them, and
he intended to buy ſomewhat of them, if they
uld kill him? Secondly, Why we had deſired to
ſet over the water, and who was the author?
irdly, Why I had written down ſome of the
mes of the garriſons and other places, notwith-
nding I had them in the maps?

'He further endeavoured to force me to tell
ether John Philly was a gunner, an engineer, or
miniſter? Now this ſuſpicion of his being a mi-
er was put into their heads by an Iriſhman, who
an irreconcileable hatred or malice againſt Eng-
men, as I afterwards from his own mouth plain-
nderſtood; but I anſwered and kept to this, that
was a huſbandman and a maltman, and I knew
not till he came to Amſterdam. He aſked me,
had a mind to go to the Turks, and be one? I
I had rather die than be one. In the mean time
as ſo racked, that my chin was cloſe to my breaſt,
my mouth ſo cloſed that I was almoſt choked,

and could not well ſpeak any longer; and I ſhould not wiſh any to experience the painful torture I endured; and when they ſlackened, it was ſometimes almoſt as painful as the pulling, and yet ſtill they would be queſtioning me. Then I aſked, where is your Chriſtian charity? Do ye now as ye would that others ſhould do unto you? And I cried the louder that the people without might hear, and bear witneſs what they were doing to me, for the door was ſhut and guarded: but ſomething they would force out of me; and I told them that by ſuch means they might force men to tell more than they knew, to be out of their pain, as many had done. Finally, I told them, it was for love to our religion we were come to thoſe places. Then they left off, as thinking there was crime enough. Yet ſtill the inquiſitor threatened I ſhould be racked again on the third day.

"Then they fetched John, who not ſeeing me thought I had been hanged on the private gallows they had there, and put out of the way. His thumbs were ſcrewed, and he was drawn up the ladder twice, but cried out, *innocent*; and they aſking the interpreter, what that was? they ſeemed ſmitten in their conſciences, and left off; and when all was done, and they could find no contradiction, they invented a lie. The marſhal came to me, and told me John had ſaid, I had no money by me, but what I had was his; and bid me tell how it was; which I knew to be falſe: thus they ſought occaſion to torment us the more; but we kept to truth, and their expectation failed them.

"After all, they told me there would be twenty or thirty men of note, out of the quarters round about, appointed to hold a court of juſtice upon me, and to determine what deaths we ſhould die, and to make new laws for our ſake; but in the mean time the inquiſitor came, and would have me write down

wn ſome of the heads of my religion, which I did, ſome of which he raged very much."

John Philly being ſuſpicious that the inquiſitor d prieſts, plotting to take away their lives, might e a falſe repreſentation of their confeſſion on the k, called out to the governor, as he was paſſing in coach, and upon ſending to know his buſineſs, he ormed him of the queſtions put to them, and ir anſwers; which being true, there was not the ſt contradiction found therein. He afterwards te to him more fully, but the inquiſitor, con- us of his evil dealing, intercepted the letter, and eavoured to conceal it from the governor, which n underſtanding, took another opportunity to to the governor, and informed him thereof, who ered the inquiſitor to give it to William to tranſ- , which he did; ſoon after the inquiſitor came hem, and informed them he was ſent by the go- nor to let them know they might go forth to fill e earth in a wheelbarrow, whereby they might two-pence a day to buy bread; for, continued that which remains in my hands of your money ttle for my pains, and the marſhal and the execu- er muſt have ſome for theirs. This offer they ingly accepted, both for the ſake of freſh air, in hopes that their ſufferings, being in open , might move ſome compaſſion, there being ma- Lutherans and Calviniſts there, who commiſerated condition, but durſt not venture to viſit or con- e with them in the caſtle. Yet ſometimes the ſhal would not let them go out, and often kept their wages.

hey both wrote again to the governor, in ac- wledgment of his moderation in preventing the e of ſome of their adverſaries, who wanted roceed to greater ſeverities. The inquiſitor n intercepted their letters; but the governor, ing to the knowledge thereof, obliged him to

give them up, and ſoon after their chains were take off.

After they had been detained here about ſix teen weeks, they were conveyed in chains, by a wag gon, under a guard to General Nadaſti, who was ad dreſſed under the titles of Judex Curiæ Hungari the Emperor's active privy counſellor and lord cham berlain. The next morning they were brought be fore him and ſundry lords of that kingdom, by who they were examined; and though ſome of the ſeemed affected with their anſwers, and none ob jected thereto, they paſſed ſentence upon them, th they ſhould be burned, if they would not embra the popiſh religion, for that their laws tolerated o ly three religions, their own, the Lutherans, and t Calviniſts; and whoſoever brought a new religio by their laws was to be burned. Upon receivi this ſentence they were ſent away. John was ſu ported, and encouraged his companion, by a ſt perſuaſion of mind, that the power of the Lo would divide them in their council, which prov to be the caſe, as they afterwards underſtood by Iriſh prieſt, who was ſent to demand an account their religion in writing, which they gave him Engliſh, and William having tranſlated it, gave into Nadaſti's own hands.

A prieſt was ſent to convert them, but his end vours being ineffectual, Nadaſti ſent them to a pl within five German miles of Vienna, where fall into the hands of the prieſts, their perils became gravated. They were again ſearched, and their bo and papers taken away. They were threatened w the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon the that they could give them a ſpecimen of their ar ments for convincing heretics, ſuch as burning der the arms, putting hot irons or copper-plates on their breaſts, and other methods of tort

They brought them into their churches (ſo called) to make them take off their hats and bow to their images. They ſet others to enſnare them, in their words, and ſtrove to do it themſelves, that they might get ſome occaſion to take away their lives. But their menaces and pious frauds (as they have been termed) were fruſtrated. They therefore put manacles on their wriſts, ſo ſmall, as, when locked by main force, put them to extreme torture, ſo that they could not help crying out; which ſeemed to give much joy to theſe obdurate eccleſiaſtics. Then they were thruſt into a narrow hole with ſome Turks, that were priſoners, where they had ſcarce room to ſit down. Here they were again threatened to be ſent back to Hungary to be burned. One of the prieſts, being deſired to treat them as men and Chriſtians, to allow them a little ſtraw to lie on, and not to uſe them worſe than the Turks, replied, "We prefer them before you." About the ſame time they offered them drink, which they ſuſpecting to be poiſon, refuſed; upon this one of the prieſts ſaid, *ſuſpectum eſt*. Amongſt theſe prieſts they had very uneaſy time, being, in addition to their cruelty, almoſt continually aſſaulted by their ſnares, their taunts, or menaces. As William under great discouragement was muſing upon their ſituation, he ſaid within himſelf, "Lord help us! what will be the end of this? Will they have power to murder here, where few may know of it?" (for there were no Lutherans and Calviniſts here as at Preſburg and Comora to be witneſſes of their treatment:) In this muſing ſtate, he ſeemed as if he ſlept, and on a ſudden, to his imagination, appeared a man all clothed in white, ſitting on a milk-white horſe, riding in haſte towards him, like one haſtening to his rescue; whereby his faith was ſtrengthened, imagining it was of Divine appointment for his encouragement, leſt he ſhould be too much caſt down. The

very ſame day a meſſage came from the Earl*, ſignifying his diſpleaſure at their proceedings.

There was one Adam Bien, the Earl's barber, who had been educated amongſt the Horteſche brethren, and being favoured in his youth with an enlightened underſtanding in the nature of true religion, had been engaged to expreſs his diſſatisfaction with the darkneſs and deadneſs of the forms of thoſe brethren. The Earl giving him ſome account of theſe priſoners, and ſhewing him ſome papers he had received from John Philly, his religious feelings were thereby revived, and a ſtrong deſire raiſed in his mind to get an opportunity of converſation with them, which through his intereſt with the Earl it was not difficult for him to attain. By their diſcourſe he was in a good degree convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and while they ſtayed there became a ſtedfaſt and ſerviceable friend to them. He told them, he had it from the Earl, that he imagined the prieſts muſt have been drunk when they gave the ill treatment which had diſpleaſed him; they in return informed him they were ſo both with rage and wine. The Earl's reproof had ſuch effect that ſome of thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in promoting every cruel and malicious inſult, were endeavouring to ingratiate themſelves with them by flattery, to wipe off the remembrance of their proceeding treatment. The prieſts alſo were reſtrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a priſon, and uſing them with the cruelty they had done before.

They ſeemed now to have a proſpect of liberty having obtained certificates of their character from

* Who this Earl was, we have no further account in William Moore's letter, from which this narrative is extracted but I conjecture he was a perſon veſted with the principal authority in this place.

eir friends in Holland, with the King's proclama-
on for ſetting their friends at home at liberty,
hich were of ſervice: but a prieſt exerted his ut-
oſt efforts to prevent it, by infuſing prejudices in-
the Earl's ear, and influencing him with a bad
inion of them. And this Earl going to Vienna,
s there confined by a heavy indiſpoſition, by
hich means they were diſappointed, for the pre-
t, in their hopes of liberty.

In the mean time, Adam Bien had requeſted
known to the priſoners) liberty for them to re-
e in his houſe, during the extremity of the win-
; as their preſent priſon, the guard-room, was
y cold, the doors being open all day, and much
the night, and from the confidence he had in
ir integrity, proffered his own perſon in their
d, if they ſhould make their eſcape; but they
e not free to add the burden of ſupporting them
he obligations they were under for his former
dneſs, and therefore choſe to ſtay in the priſon:
they got liberty at times to go to his houſe,
re they ſometimes met with ſome of the bre-
n, and had religious opportunities with them.

ut their ſufferings were not yet at an end;
priests and ſoldiers, though partly reſtrained
he awe they were in of Adam, on account of
ntimacy with the Earl, continued to be vexa-
s to them, and ſought, in various ways, to in-
e them. Finally, they ſeem, by their inſinua-
s, to have prevailed upon the Earl to connive,
aſt, at a plot which was laid to ſeparate them,
arrying William Moore off privately, probably,
uſe, having ſome knowledge of the High-Dutch
uage and Latin, they might look upon him as
noſt likely to promulgate their doctrines. For
urpoſe he was called out by one of the men
oyed, who gave him two glaſs bottles, under
nce of going with him to fetch ſome wine;

and when he had drawn him out of the town int
the fields, whither came ſome ſleds, (the country be
ing ſo deeply covered with ſnow, that waggon
could not travel,) he forced him on to one of ther
and was preſently joined by a ſoldier, whom Wi
liam knew to be a deſperate man. Upon his com
ing, William was ſenſible that miſchief was intend
ed him, and fearing leſt they ſhould, under the pre
tence of his being run away, vent their vengeanc
on his companion and Adam, he reſolved to endea
vour to get back; but was prevented by the wicke
attendants, who beat and abuſed him greatly, thre
him down on the ſnow, tied him hands and fe
bound him on the ſled, with his face to the ha
and carried him off; ſo that he was under appr
henſion that their deſign was to murder him in
adjoining wood, or execute him on a gallows whi
was in ſight; but they paſſed by both. Some pe
ple coming that way, they covered him with
cloak, and one of them ſat upon him, that he mi
not be ſeen. But hearing them paſſing by, he cal
out to them to let the barber know he was forci
carried off. The ſoldier then again beat him ſeve
ly, the other man having charged him not to ſuf
him to ſpeak. At night, when they came to t
lodging, they fettered his feet, and put a long ch
tied over a beam, about his neck. Next morn
paſſing through a village, he would gladly h
ſpoke to ſomebody; but they forced him to
down until they had got through the village. T
carried him to a convent in a wilderneſs; but
prior not being at home, the monks would not
ceive him without his orders; ſo that night he
laid in chains as before. Next morning he
taken to the monaſtery, and his conductor gave
rections that they ſhould blindfold him, and
him in a deep dungeon, and give him only b
and water, and that none ſhould be ſuffered to

any intelligence of him. A Jew being there, was prohibited, on pain of death, to say any thing of what he had seen. He was accordingly put into a hole, where there was scarce any light, and kept there four days and four nights, in frosty weather, so that it seemed admirable he was not starved to death.

He had been confined twelve days, when the Prior came home, who sent for him and examined him, what end they had in view in coming into that country, and concerning some points of their religion; to which he answered agreeably to truth. The Prior told him that was not enough, he must also believe that the Pope was Christ's Vicar, and that he, and they, had power to bind and loose in Heaven and on Earth. He was afterwards again examined on the same subject; and as his demeanour amongst them was consistent with the purity of the profession he made, they were the more desirous to gain him over as a proselyte, because they apprehended he would be an ornament to their profession. And a priest was sent to instruct and convert him, but his labour being ineffectual, they had recourse to menaces, threatening one while to cut out his tongue, another to flay him alive, if he would not turn Papist.

Adam Bien continued stedfast in his friendship to them in all their afflictions. After William was carried off, the Earl endeavoured to persuade him he was run away, which Adam could not believe; but by some means getting intelligence of the place of his confinement, sent some necessaries, and gave orders to supply him with bread on his account. Soon after the Earl being again seized with indisposition, from which his recovery was doubtful, Adam solicited him in their favour, and obtained his promise to set them at liberty. But they being building a new cloister, William was detained by the Prior six weeks

weeks after to attend the maſons, promiſing to tell him a good meſſage when he returned, if he would be diligent. He afterwards told him, that the Earl deſired William to be told, that if he would turn Catholic he ſhould have good preferment; but if not he could not detain him, for he had priſoners enough beſides; but that it was concluded, that if he was found afterwards in Hungary or Auſtria, he ſhould be burned, and his companion alſo.

It was on the 4th of 7th month, (September) 1663, he was releaſed, and his companion two days after, of whom I find no farther account but that he ſet forward toward Germany. William, though ſet at liberty, yet having at firſt with his companion been ſtripped of their money, which ſeemed more than ſufficient for the expences of their journey, found himſelf involved in difficulty ſtill, a ſtranger in a remote country, without money and without friends; but having been inured to cloſe trials of his faith, he ſet out homeward, truſting in the ſuperintending care of Divine Providence for his ſuſtenance, from which he had experienced preſervation in many ſtraits. Another danger attended him, the Auſtrians being at war with the Turks, guards were placed at all the towns thereabout, to examine ſtrangers, and ſeize ſuſpicious perſons entering into them; he therefore avoided the garriſoned towns and enquired the moſt private ways, and in about a month he made his way into the Palatinate, where at Chriſtein he got amongſt his friends, who entertained him kindly. Here he tarried ſome weeks to reſt himſelf after the long continued ſcene of danger which he had juſt paſſed.

CHAPTE

CHAP. VI.

DEATH, TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS OF VARIOUS FRIENDS.

T was near the close of the year 1663, that John Audland was taken off in a consumption, in an ly stage of life. He was born near Camms-gill*, Westmoreland. From a child he is described as retentive memory, quick in understanding; and he approached a state of maturity, he applied the ention of his mind to religious thoughtfulness, became an eminent teacher amongst the Inde-dents, of whom he had a numerous auditory. was one of the principal preachers at Firbank pel, at the time when George Fox had the me-rable meeting there, and amongst the number convinced of the truth and efficacy of the doc-es he published. Notwithstanding the con-ptible light in which learned prejudice has wed and represented George Fox, yet it appears nifest his artless preaching and honest simplicity tyle, were more conducive to fix the best impres-s on the hearts of his auditory, than most of the orate discourses of lettered eloquence. This the effect it had upon John Audland, impressing mind with such reflections as these; "What ileth our great profession? All our building tum-down; the day of the Lord is upon it, and the of his word consumes it as dry stubble, and puts end to all high notions, and professions without and substance; to all the wisdom of fallen man.

* The seat of his beloved companion in gospel labour, John m.

We

We muſt forſake the world and all its glory; it
all but vanity and vexation of ſpirit. It is a Savio
I long for. O that I may be gathered into his life
overſhadowed with his glory! ſanctified throughou
by his word, and raiſed up by his eternal power.
Under this view of the neceſſity of taking up th
croſs in order to attain peace, he willingly ſubmitte
thereto; and reſigning all his own ſelf-righteouſnes
acquired wiſdom, and the reputation he had attaine
thereby.

Through divine condeſcention he attained the de
ſire of his ſoul, that inward peace which exceeds th
comprehenſion of unſanctified men; and qualifie
tion, with wiſdom and lively zeal to promulgate th
way of ſalvation, no longer under the cold influenc
of barren ſpeculation, but the animating energy
living experience. In the exerciſe of profitable m
niſtry he faithfully exerted his talents for ſeve
years, travelling much through ſundry parts of t
nation, to propagate the doctrines of the goſpe
He was married, about the twentieth year of his a
to Anne Newby, a young woman of a good fami
who proved a ſuitable companion, being a valuab
and well-accompliſhed woman. With her he e
joyed much domeſtic happineſs.

He was one of the earlieſt preachers of this p
ſuaſion, being the firſt of them, in company w
John Camm, who viſited the city of Briſtol, a
the weſtern counties; where, as well as at oth
places, his miniſtry was effectual to the convinc
of many.

He was not only a partaker with his brethren
goſpel labour, but in the ſufferings of that try
day; in repeated impriſonments and corporal abuſ
by which, with his zealous exertions in large me
ings, he was affected with a violent cough, wh
appeared conſumptive, and finally terminated i

low fever, whereby he was reduced to great weakneſs.

Not long before his deceaſe, being viſited by ſome friends, he addreſſed them with ſuch encouraging exhortation to fidelity, under the trials they were expoſed to, and with ſuch reaching energy, as if he was raiſed above the feeling of his weakneſs. In tender ſympathy with his beloved wife, who was with child, nigh to her delivery, to encourage her reſignation, in caſe of his removal, he ſaid, "My will is in true ſubjection to the will of the Lord, whether life or death, and therefore give me up freely to his diſpoſing." And being, through divine aſſiſtance, ſtrengthened to comply with this advice, her reſignation contributed greatly to the eaſe of his mind. He was not only preſerved in ſerenity of mind at this ſolemn period, but at times even filled with joy in the proſpect of approaching felicity, under the impreſſion whereof his ſoul was raiſed up in praiſe to the Almighty, and in prayer for the proſperity of his friends in righteouſneſs. His ſtrength gradually diminiſhing, he terminated a virtuous life, in great tranquillity, at the age of thirty-four.

In the laſt year, (1663,) we left George Fox, Margaret Fell, and Francis Howgill, in priſon; the two former in Lancaſter caſtle, and the latter in Appleby jail. George was brought to trial for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance at the ſpring aſſizes, the beginning of this year, before Judge Twiſden; and after giving his reaſons why he could not comply with the requiſition to take the oath, he aſked the judge, "If he owned the King?" who replying in the affirmative, "Why then" ſaid he "doſt thou not obſerve his declaration from Breda, and his promiſes made ſince he came into England, that no man ſhould be called in queſtion for matters of religion, ſo long as they lived peaceably? Why doſt thou put me in queſtion, and put me upon taking an oath,

oath, ſeeing neither thou nor any other can charg
me with unpeaceable living?" At this, the judg
was ſo provoked, that he cried out, "Sirrah, wil
you ſwear?" To which George rejoined, "I am
none of thy ſirrahs, I am a Chriſtian; and for the
who art an old man and a judge, to ſit there and t
give nick-names to priſoners, doth not either be
come thy grey hairs or thy office." Two days af
terward, being brought before the judge again, an
aſked, whether he would traverſe the indictment o
ſubmit, he deſired liberty to traverſe, whereupon h
was continued in priſon till the next aſſizes, an
during his confinement writ ſeveral papers to th
magiſtrates, manifeſting the evil of perſecution, an
exhorting to virtue.

He was called again before Judge Turner at th
ſucceeding aſſizes, held in the month called Augu
where an indictment was found againſt him for r
fuſing the oath; and he being brought in guilty b
the jury, in arreſt of judgment he pleaded ſo ma
errors in the indictment, that it was laid afid
whereupon he appealing to the judge, demanded ju
tice of him. The judge told him, "You muſt ha
juſtice, and you ſhall have law;" and ſtarting up
a paſſion, ſaid, "I can put the oath to any man he
and I will tender it to you again;" which he d
accordingly, and recommitted him to priſon till t
next aſſizes, which were held the 16th of Marc
(ſo called,) 1664–5, when he was tried on anot
indictment; which he proved to be erroneous,
well as the former. The judge*, however, ov
ruled his objections, and ordered him to be tak
away. When he was gone, the jury brought in
verdict for the King: he was called no more,
ſentence of premunire was paſſed upon him in
abſence.

* Twiſden.

Colo

Colonel Kirby, though ſeemingly civil towards
, was the chief promoter of his firſt impriſon-
t, and of this proſecution; who, having now ob-
ed his deſire, ordered the jailer to keep him
e, and ſuffer nobody to come near him. The
r locked him up in a tower, ſometimes ſo filled
ſmoke, that he could ſcarce ſee the candle
n burning; and in wet weather it rained in up-
is bed. In this condition he lay through a long
er, whereby he was ſo affected, that his body
much ſwelled and his limbs benumbed.

t the aforeſaid aſſizes, in the month called Au-
, Margaret Fell was alſo brought to her trial on
ame account. Upon her trial, when the judge
ed the jury to "take notice ſhe doth not take
oath," ſhe replied, "This matter is weighty to
whatever it be to you, and I would have the ju-
ake notice of it, and conſider ſeriouſly what
are going to do. I ſtand here before you on
unt of the loſs of my liberty and my eſtate;
ndly, I ſtand here obeying Chriſt's command,
keeping my conſcience clear; but if I keep the
's commands in obeying this law, I defile my
cience and tranſgreſs the law of Jeſus Chriſt,
is the King thereof. And the cauſe and con-
erſy in this matter that you are all here to judge
his day, is betwixt Chriſt Jeſus and King
les; this is his cauſe, and whatſoever I ſuffer
for him, and ſo let him plead my cauſe when
eaſeth."

er counſel pleaded in arreſt of judgment, and
ſeveral errors in the indictment, which yet
udge would not admit of, but paſſed ſentence
emunire upon her.

e remained in priſon about twenty months be-
ſhe could obtain liberty to go to her own
for a little time, but returned to priſon, where
ontinued about four years, till releaſed by an
of the King.

Francis

Francis Howgill was alſo brought to his trial the ſpring aſſizes this year at Appleby, before Ju Twiſden aforeſaid. Coming into court before judges ſat, he enquired of the clerk whether his pearance was expected then or not? who gave him pectation that he would not be called upon that ſize. But Sir Philip Muſgrave, a principal prom of the proſecution, unfairly endeavoured to prepo the judge againſt him, by repreſenting him dangerous perſon, a ringleader of the Quak and a great upholder of their meetings. Wh upon they reſolved to proceed to his trial. J Twiſden, in his preparatory charge to the g jury, informed them, there was a ſort of peo who under pretence of conſcience and ſeemin build upon the king's declaration from Breda, der colour thereof hatched treaſons and rebelli charging them to enquire after and preſent f that the peace of the nation might be preſer The jury was then impannelled, and Francis c to the bar; but after ſome time ſpent in conv tion by the judge and the juſtices, the forme quiring him to enter into bonds and go no mo meetings, and the latter miſrepreſenting the kers; the court ordered him to priſon, and a was going, he turned to the people, ſaying, " fear of God be amongſt you all."

The people generally appeared very affecti to him, and pitied his hard circumſtance.

At the ſummer aſſizes held in the ſame place 22d and 23d days of the month called Auguſt was again brought to the bar, and finally conde in a premunire.

Previous to his ſecond trial, he cauſed two p to be preſented to the judges; one of them declaration containing the ſubſtance of the oath the other a modeſt defence of himſelf for

to ſwear; both which he was informed the
es read.
pon his ſecond trial he refuſing to take an oath,
many weighty reaſons * in ſupport of his prin-
es: but the jury finding him guilty, the judge
ounced, with a † faint and low voice, "You
put out of the king's protection and benefit of
law. Your lands are confiſcate to the king
ng your life, and your goods and chattles for
, and you are to be priſoner during your life."
o he returned to priſon, where he continued to
nd of his days.
very rumour of a plot (real or pretended) ſeems,
r this adminiſtration, a prelude to an additional
l law againſt Nonconformiſts. The plot al-
d to be formed in the North, of which men-
hath been made, and on the pretended account
eof the three forementioned perſons were taken
nd premunired, was made a pretext for a new
whereby the act of the thirty-fifth of Eliza-
was declared to be in full force.

When he was aſked, what he had to ſay why ſentence
not be given? He replied, "I have many things to ſay
will hear them. Firſt, I deny not ſwearing out of ob-
or wilfulneſs, but am willing to teſtify the truth in this
of obedience, or any other matter wherein I am con-
. Secondly, Becauſe ſwearing is directly againſt the
nd of Chriſt; and thirdly, againſt the doctrine of the
s. Fourthly, Even againſt ſome of the principal mem-
f the church of England, as Biſhop Uſher, ſometime
e of Ireland, who ſaid in his works that the Waldenſes
all ſwearing in their age from that command of Chriſt
e apoſtle James, and that it was a ſufficient ground.
Doctor Gauden, late Biſhop of Exeter, in a book I
read, cites many ancient fathers, proving that the
ans, for the firſt three hundred years, did not ſwear; ſo
is no new doctrine.
This appears to me an evidence that this judge paſſed
e upon him contrary to the conviction of his own con-
. *Gough.*
ntitled "An act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious con-
s." See *Gough* vol. ii. page 111.

It

It is obſervable, that the former act paſſed 1661 enacted the ſame penalties, though not largely or particularly expreſſed as this *: nor do it appear that it was rigorouſly enforced, as this w The penalties of that act affected the Quakers on but this extending them to all who meet in any ot manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice the church of England, reached Nonconformiſt every claſs: and though it appears levelled at ev body of Diſſenters, ſtill the greateſt weight of ſ ferings fell upon the Quakers. I have met with account of any others condemned to tranſporta upon this act, but with numbers of thoſe who w

It is not wonderful that a law of ſuch pernici tendency to the liberty and ſecurity of ſo lar body of the people ſhould give occaſion to animadverſions.

Among ſeveral † who wrote upon this occa George Whitehead took up his pen, to ex the unreaſonable ſeverity of the perſecutors

* Perſons above the age of ſixteen years, preſent at meeting of five or more perſons, to be impriſoned three mo or pay a fine of five pounds; for the ſecond offence the pe to be double; for the third offence to be tranſported to Am or pay a fine of one hundred pounds. Married women impriſoned not exceeding twelve months, or pay a ſum n ceeding forty pounds!!!

† Neal relates that ſuch was the ſeverity of theſe times many were afraid to pray in their families, if above f their acquaintance that came to viſit them were preſent. families ſcrupled to aſk a bleſſing on their meat, if ſtra gers were at table.—*Hiſt. of Purit.*

At Droitwich, Jo. Cartwright came to a Friend's and ſpeaking a few words before he ſat down to ſupper came an informer, and ſtood hearkening under a w When he had heard the Friend ſpeak, he went and inf and got a warrant to diſtrain the Friend's goods, und tence that there was a meeting at his houſe: whereas was none preſent in the houſe at that time, but the mas houſe, his wife and ſervant maid. But this evil minde as he came back with the warrant in the night, fell horſe and broke his neck.

ſtren

rengthen his friends to ſteadfaſtneſs in their chriſ-
an teſtimony; to exculpate them from the charge
obſtinacy, and to anſwer ſome ſpecious objec-
ons. Joſiah Coale likewiſe about this time pub-
hed a remonſtrance to the king and both houſes
parliament againſt perſecution; but remon-
rances, however reaſonable, had little effect. Per-
cution to baniſhment was reſolved on, and almoſt
mediately endeavoured to be put in execution.

At the aſſizes at Hertford in the next month
uguſt) eight perſons of this profeſſion, viz.
ancis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feaſt, Henry
arſhall, Jeremy Hern, Thomas Wood, John
endale and Samuel Trahern were brought to
ir trial before Judge Orlando Bridgeman, and
icted for the third offence againſt the conven-
le act *.

An indictment was drawn up againſt them, ex-
ſſing, That they had been at an unlawful meet-
three ſundry times, at ſuch times and places;
s being delivered to the grand jury, they could not
ee in their verdict; for there were ſome among
m whoſe conſciences would not ſo eaſily allow
m to be acceſſary to the condemnation of the
ocent, and therefore they returned the bill *Ig-
ramus*.

Inſtead of accepting this return of the grand jury,
h menaces and freſh inſtructions the judge ſent
m out again: they then found the bill, with

* This act was not in force till the firſt of the month called
, and theſe perſons were arraigned for the third offence on
12th and 13th of the ſucceeding month. As the penalty
he firſt offence was impriſonment for a term not exceeding
e months, and for the ſecond not exceeding ſix, at the diſ-
ion of two juſtices; it was uſual with theſe juſtices to com-
them for a few days for the firſt and ſecond offence, not
of tenderneſs, but in order to ſubject them more ſpeedily
e penalty of tranſportation for the third offence.

which

which the court ſeemed well pleaſed. Four of th priſoners were then brought to the bar, who pleade not guilty, and added, we have tranſgreſſed no ju law: but replied the judge, "you have tranſgreſſe this law (holding the conventicle act in his han and you have been twice convicted already. you be now found guilty, I muſt paſs ſentence tranſportation againſt you: but if you will promi to have no more ſuch meetings, I will acquit yo of what is paſt. This favour you may receive b fore the jury is charged with you, but not afte wards. What ſay you, will you meet no more They anſwered with one accord, "We can ma no ſuch promiſe." Upon which the jury w ſworn, and witneſſes examined, who depoſed th they found thoſe perſons aſſembled above five t gether at certain times and places, but that th neither heard any of them ſpeak, nor ſaw them any thing.

The judge then ſummed up the evidence, a gave his charge to the jury, in which he told the "You are not to expect plain punctual evide of any thing ſaid or done, a bare proof of their b ing met for worſhip in their manner, not being a cording to the liturgy and practice of the chur of England, is ſufficient for their conviction "'Tis not your buſineſs to enter into the meani of the law, but ſingly determine the fact." T jury, with theſe inſtructions, went out, and fo brought them in guilty, and the judge forthw paſſed ſentence upon them, viz. "You ſhall transported beyond the ſeas to the iſland of Bar does, there to remain for ſeven years."

Then the other four were ſet to the bar, and tr in like manner, and condemned to be tranſpor to Jamaica: and a fifth, John Reynolds, was t with them; but the witneſſes depoſing they had ſeen him in the meeting, but within a yard of de

or, with his face from it, he was acquitted.
he eight perſons convicted were informed by the
dge of that clauſe in the act, which provides that
on paying one hundred pounds each, before the
ing of the court, they might be diſcharged.
he court adjourned, and when they met again,
nt to the priſoners to know whether they would
y the hundred pounds, which they unanimouſly
uſing, the court broke up.

Purſuant to the ſentence, the jailer, applied to
homas May, maſter of a ſhip, called the Anne,
d contracted with him to carry them to Barba-
es at five pounds a head, and thoſe to Jamaica at
pounds; telling him they were freemen, and that
of them would carry goods. When he found
y were under compulſion, he refuſed to receive
m, as his contract was to carry freemen. The
er, vexed at the diſappointment, betook himſelf
the ſecretary of ſtate, and made oath that he had
ntracted with Thomas May for the priſoners
ſage, as perſons convicted by the act. May being
t for, took with him witneſſes of his contract:
the ſecretary told him, oath having been al-
dy made for the king, his witneſſes could be of
uſe, he muſt carry the priſoners. During this
e they were cloſely confined, and but few of
ir friends admitted to ſee them.

The maſter being thus compelled to tranſport
m againſt his will, they were put on board;
put on ſhore by the maſter, and taken in again
ſundry times between London and Graveſend;
being remarkable, that though many veſſels paſſed
m down the river, this ſhip could make no way,
with the utmoſt application of the ſeamen make
to any purpoſe. Having by the maſter's or-
s followed him from place to place, at laſt he
t them all together at Deal, and before ſeveral
neſſes declared, that tho' they had followed the

ſhip ſo long, yet he was reſolved not to carry them. Here he finally diſmiſſed them, with a certificate to ſhew that they did not make their eſcape, but were freely put a-ſhore by him, aſſigning for his reaſons, that ſeeing the diſappointments he had hitherto met with, he concluded the hand of the Lord was againſt him. That therefore he durſt not proceed on his voyage with theſe priſoners, they being charged with no crime worthy of baniſhment. That there is a law in force, that no Engliſhman ſhall be carried out of his native country againſt his will. And that his men refuſed to proceed on the voyage, if he carried them.

There was on board one Manning, who had been very officious in getting them on board, and deſirous of detaining them there, with deſign, as was thought, of making a market of them beyond ſea. This Manning, diſappointed in his views, carried a complaint to the principal officer at Deal, that the priſoners had made their eſcape, but they, producing the maſter's certificate, he refuſed to concern himſelf in the matter. Then Manning with two others forced four of them into a boat, which he found on the beach, to put them again on ſhip-board; but as nobody would aſſiſt him to row it, he was forced to let them go. The maſter ſailed that night, and ſo left them behind. The relation of the manner in which the ſhip left them was atteſted by eleven perſons, who were eye witneſſes thereof.

Being ſet at liberty, they returned home, and by letter acquainted the king, which being read at the council board, under pretence that their liberation was effected by a colluſion between the maſter and them, by order of council they were again committed to priſon, until means of tranſporting them by ſome ſhip to thoſe parts could be found, and were continued in priſon until releaſed by letters patent more than ſeven years after.

On their return to priſon they found twenty-one ore Friends lying there under the like ſentence, ho at the quarter ſeſſions held at Hartford the 3d, h, and 5th of October, 1664, were condemned to niſhment, under which ſentence moſt of them there till releaſed by the ſame letters patent in 72.

In London this conventicle act was no ſooner in ce than multitudes were impriſoned for the firſt d ſecond offence, which was uſually for a few s. On the 14th of the month called Auguſt the riffs, with many officers and others armed, en- ed the meeting-houſe at Bull and Mouth, and lered the perſon who was preaching to come n, after which two officers ſtepped on a form r him, drew their ſwords, and ſtruck him and ther Friend with ſuch force that one of their rds was broken; then they laid hold both on n and women, and haling out near two hundred, ve them to Guildhall, where they were kept oners till near midnight, and then, by the or's orders, conducted with lighted torches by ard of halberdiers to Newgate, where they were ſt among felons. On the 15th about twenty e fined and committed, as were twelve more on 17th, and about ſixty others on the 19th, ſome ourteen and others for nine days.

n the 21ſt the mayor with the ſheriffs and erman Brown came again to the meeting at Bull Mouth: Brown, with his uſual rudeneſs, ed ſome, pulled others by the hair, and pinched women's arms until they were black: then cauſ- he doors to be ſhut, about one hundred and ſixty em were ſent to Newgate for four days, where had not room to ſit down, nor ſcarce to ſtand, g cloſe ſhut up among the felons, without ct to age or ſex. On the 28th one hundred ſeventy-five were alſo ſent to Newgate as pri-

vately as poſſible, the magiſtrates, its probable being aſhamed to expoſe their unrelenting ſeveri to the public eye. On the 4th of September tw hundred and thirty-two more were committed.

By ſuch commitments the priſons being ſo filled, it was intended to proceed to the trial of ſu as were in for the third offence. For which pu poſe a young lad was brought from Newgate, w being aſked if he were not at the Bull and Mou meeting ſuch a day, he replied, "I was not whence the judge took occaſion to reproach the Q kers with common place reflections, ſaying, that all their pretenſions to truth, they could lie their intereſt, and to evade ſuffering. But t youth perſiſting in his denial, witneſſes were cal for, to prove his being there, but none could found; which the judge obſerving, ſaid, "Here a diſappointment!" Threatening ſome ſhould ſuf for it, he diſmiſſed the jury. This diſappoi ment was, want of evidence to anſwer the purp of the court, to prevent which in future, ord were iſſued that the jailer of Newgate, the mar and his men ſhould attend the meetings, and prepared to give evidence againſt the next ſeſſion

On the 10th of October, the ſeſſions began Hicks's Hall, before Sir John Robinſon, and the 13th a bill of indictment was preferred aga ſixteen Quakers for the third offence, about wh the grand jury could not agree that night, but morning, at the importunity of the juſtices, fo the bill by a ſmall majority. They were tried convicted, and twelve of them received ſente of tranſportation, amongſt whom was a yo woman, named Hannah Trigg, whoſe treatment unreaſonably tyrannical, even by this ſevere for being aſked in form, why ſentence ſhould be paſſed upon her, ſhe replied ſhe was not fix years of age, one of the juſtices told her ſhe

d though a certificate of her birth, ſigned by two omen preſent thereat was produced, aſſerting ſhe s born the 20th day of Auguſt, (ſo called,) 1649, was rejected by the juſtices, who were ſo in- t on multiplying convicts, that they ſeemed de- mined to go over all objections, whereby any ght eſcape the deſigned puniſhment. The caſe this young woman was yet more ſevere in this; t ſoon after ſhe was ſentenced to baniſhment, ſhe kened in Newgate, and dying there, the ſame feeling inhumanity was extended to her lifeleſs rps: her relations were debarred even of the nſolation of paying the laſt office of natural ction, by interring her as they deſired; for ſhe s carried to the burying place, where they uſually er fellons and others who die in the jail. When bearers came to the ground, finding no grave de, they left the corps unburied, ſaying, they uld make a grave next morning. The girl's mo- r attending the funeral, had the anguiſh to be- d this inhuman uſage of her daughter's remains ſilent ſorrow, without the power of remedy. e other four, being married women, were ſen- ced to eleven months impriſonment in Bride- ll.

On the 15th above forty more were brought to ſeſſions at the old Bailey, and called to the bar, , two, three or four at a time, as they were luded in one indictment. About ſixteen, con- ring the indictment as a charge of contemning law, and acting contrary to the king's peace, aded not guilty. Others giving general anſwers, h as, "I have wronged none, I am innocent," . were ſet by as mute, and the fact taken *pro feſſo*. Then the court, at which Judge Hide ſided, proceeded to try the former ſixteen e witneſſes againſt them were the under-keepers Newgate and the marſhal-men. The firſt was

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one Dawſon, a turnkey, who was greatly con-
founded in his teſtimony, for having ſworn that he
took John Hope, who had been in priſon three
weeks, at the Bull and Mouth laſt Sunday, and the
court endeavouring to ſet him right, he correcting
himſelf, ſaid the Sunday before, which was equally
falſe. Afterward he ſaid the priſoner was brought
out to him, and that he did not ſee him in the meet-
ing. Upon which one of the jury, addreſſing him-
ſelf to the judge, ſaid, "My lord, I beſeech you
let us be troubled with no more ſuch evidence
for we ſhall not caſt men upon ſuch evidence as
this;" but the judge endeavoured to palliate it, and
reproved the juryman for being too ſcrupulous.

Another evidence was William Turner, a turn-
key too, who being aſked if the priſoner was at the
Bull and Mouth, anſwered, he was there that day
he came with the conſtable; whence it appeared he
did not ſee him till he came to Newgate. So one
of the jury objecting to this witneſs, the judge grew
angry, and threatened him for undervaluing the
king's witneſſes, and told him, the court had power
to puniſh him, and would do it. After ſome time
the jury was ſent out, who brought in their verdict
that four of the priſoners were "not guilty," as
the reſt they could not agree on. The judge being
much diſpleaſed, ſent them out again, with freſh in-
ſtructions, they returned with this verdict, "guilty
of meeting, but not of fact."

Neither perſuaſions nor menaces could induce
the jury to alter their verdict: Whereupon ſix of
them were bound in one hundred pounds each, to
appear at the King's Bench bar the firſt day of the
next term.

On the 17th, thoſe who had been ſet by, were
brought to the bar to receive ſentence: Firſt, ſome
married women condemned to the houſe of correc-
tion for twelve months, the reſt to baniſhment;

en to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, there remain ſeven years.

Thus the perſecuting magiſtrates continued to priſon, and condemn to baniſhment, the mem-rs of this ſociety in great numbers, there being, an account publiſhed at this time, upwards of ſix ndred in priſon. By authentic records, I find t. upwards of two hundred were ſentenced to niſhment, in different parts of the nation, in this d the ſucceeding year, of whom above one hun-ed and fifty were condemned at the Old Bailey, d Hicks's-Hall; and what is very remarkable, out all this number, I find no particular account of re than two at one time, and fifteen at others, o were actually tranſported, which was not owing any relaxation of ſeverity in the government, or ordinate magiſtrates, but the diſappointments y met with of the means of tranſporting them, hath been obſerved, with regard to thoſe con-nned at Hertford.

Theſe two were named Edward Bruſh and James rding, who, on the 24th of the month called rch, early in the morning, were, without any rning, hurried from Newgate, by ſome of the nkeys, to Blackfriars, and thence to Graveſend, ere they were forced on board a ſhip, and car-d to Jamaica, where it pleaſed God to proſper m, ſo that they lived there in good circum-nces; and Edward Bruſh, who was at that time aged man, and a citizen of good repute, after ering the anguiſh of being ſeparated from a be-ed wife and only child, ſurvived the term of his le, lived to return, and end his days in peace at ne.

With theſe two, a third named Robert Hayes, alſo in like manner put on ſhip-board; in whom have a freſh inſtance of the unfeeling barbarity ich actuated his perſecutors; for, being taken

fasting out of prison, though in a weak state of health, and under a course of physic, and carried down the river, on a cold day, without any refreshment afforded him; within a little time after he was put on board, he died. His body was brought back to London, and interred in the burying ground belonging to his friends. George Whitehead, who knew him, gives the following account of Robert Hayes: "He was a very innocent loving man, a goodlike person, of a fresh comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in the prime of his strength when first imprisoned." And adds, "I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world by the shameful cruelty and inhuman usage of these merciless persecutors."

CHAP. VII.

EXEMPLARY PATIENCE OF THIS PEOPLE UNDER SUFFERINGS.—THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.—GREAT FIRE DITTO.—ESTABLISHMENT OF DISCIPLINE.

EXPOSED as this people was to multiplied penalties and severe execution of unequal laws, yet through all the exertions of malicious violence during the heat of persecution, they fainted not in their minds. There were among them some, who were not only examples in steadfastness in suffering themselves, but by their exhortations in word and writing, as well as example, encouraged their brethren to steadfastness therein: so that through all these efforts of the persecutors, to abolish this society, they increased, notwithstanding, in strength and numbers. George Fox, George Whitehead, Fran

Francis Howgill and Joſiah Coale, were of this number. Others were engaged to bear teſtimony againſt perſecution, by their epiſtles, remonſtrances, and prophetic warnings, addreſſed to the king and parliament; and yet, (what was remarkable) amongſt the number condemned to baniſhment, not one of theſe eminent members was included, although they never ſought to eſcape by ſubterfuge, but continued, when at liberty, to example their brethren to an open and diligent attendance of meetings.

Two of theſe prophetic warnings are too remarkable to be paſſed over unnoticed.

The firſt is extracted from a publication of George Fox, the younger, in 1661, wherein, lamenting England, becauſe of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedneſs, he ſaith, "The Lord had ſpoken in him concerning the inhabitants," 'The people are too many, I will in them, I will thin them!' Further, "that an overflowing ſcourge, yea even a great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it ſhould fall and be taken away."

The next is a ſhort admonitory caution from George Biſhop, of Briſtol, addreſſed

"To the King and both houſes of parliament,
"Thus ſaith the Lord,

"Meddle not with my people, becauſe of their conſcience to me, and baniſh them not out of the nation becauſe of their conſcience; for if you do, I will ſend my plagues upon you, and you ſhall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the Lord, by his ſervant,

G. BISHOP.

"Briſtol 15th 9mo. 1664."

Whilſt theſe rigorous meaſures * were uſed, for forcing uniformity in religion, true religion perhaps was never leſs cultivated or promoted than at this time, by the ruling party. The manners of the age were immoral to a ſcandalous degree.

The Quakers of this age looked upon the train of ſucceeding calamities, as divine judgments inflicted upon a ſinful generation.

The firſt of thoſe evils, was a war with the Dutch, in which very many lives were loſt on both ſides, and no advantage gained by either.

The next general calamity had more the appearance of a divine viſitation; it was the moſt dreadful plague that had been known in the memory of man. Trade was at a full ſtand. Intercourſe between the town and country was much interrupted. In London the ſhops and houſes were ſhut up, and graſs growing in the moſt populous ſtreets, they became a ſcene of ſolitude, ſilence, and gloom; and it was remarked, that the firſt houſe in which it broke out, and which was ſhut up on account of the infection, was next door to the dwelling of Edward Bruſh, lately tranſported on the conventicle act.

It was certainly a moſt awful viſitation, ſufficient one would think, to rouſe the moſt inconſiderate to ſerious thoughtfulneſs, when the examples of mortality were daily multiplying before their eyes, and none could be certain whoſe turn it would be next; yet, ſuch was either the hardneſs of heart or the miſtaken perſuaſion of their doing well, in the perſecuting magiſtrates, that, unawed by the common calamity, they proceeded for a ſeaſon, to carry this conventicle act into force, by increaſing the number of Quaker priſoners and exiles, as if nothing extraordinary had fallen out.

* Neale, vol. ii. p. 651.

In the month called April, 1665, twelve more of his ſociety were ſentenced to tranſportation, and even more taken from Newgate to Graveſend, and here put on ſhipboard, to be tranſported to the plantations, and in the ſucceeding month, eight others. And a few days after their embarkation, Judge Hide, who had been an active man in procuring the conviction and ſentencing of many to baniſhment, was ſuddenly taken off, being in health at Weſtminſter in the morning, and found dead in his cloſet the ſame day at noon.

At the next ſeſſions at the Old Baily four more were condemned to tranſportation, under which ſentence there remained in Newgate more than 120 perſons, whom the ſheriffs knew not how to get rid of; for the maſters of ſhips, perſuaded of the men's innocence, generally refuſed to carry them, and the increaſing peſtilence confirmed them in their refuſal. To remedy this difficulty, an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with an order that none ſhould go down the river without a paſs from the admiral; and this would be given to no maſter going to the Weſt Indies, but on condition of his engaging to carry ſome Quakers. Remonſtrances of the illegality of carrying Engliſhmen out of their native country by force were vain. At length they found a man for their purpoſe, one Fudge, a perſon ſo hardened as to ſay, "he would not ſtick to tranſport his neareſt relations." With this man the ſheriffs agreed to carry the priſoners to Jamaica, and in purſuance thereof fifty-five were taken out of Newgate, put into a barge, and carried down the river to his ſhip, lying at Bugby's-hole, a little below Greenwich. When they came to the ſhip's ſide, the maſter being abſent, the ſeamen refuſed to aſſiſt in forcing them on board, and the priſoners were unwilling to be active in their own tranſportation. The turnkey and officers uſed high words to the ſeamen, inſiſting

fiſting that the priſoners were the King's goods, and that they ought to be aſſiſtant in taking them aboard; but the mariners were inflexible. At length, with much difficulty, they got only four on board, and being weary, returned with the reſt to Newgate, where they lay about two weeks, and then were again carried to the barge. Soldiers were ſent from the Tower in boats, to be aſſiſtant in putting them aboard. Several of their friends in other boats accompanied them, though the ſoldiers threatened to ſink them, if they would not be gone. The commander of the ſoldiers called to the ſeamen to aſſiſt, but few of them regarded. Then the ſoldiers in the barge laid hold on the priſoners, dragging ſome, kicking others, heaving many by the legs and arms, and in this manner got them all on board in about an hour's time, being thirty-ſeven men, and eighteen women.

On board, the men were all thronged together between decks, where they could not ſtand upright. The maſter of the ſhip being in the mean time arreſted for debt, the ſhip was detained ſo long in the river, that it was about ſeven months before they reached the Land's-end: and in the intermediate time, the peſtilence breaking out in the ſhip, carried off twenty-ſeven of the priſoners. At laſt another maſter being procured, on the 23d of the month called February, the veſſel ſailed from Plymouth, and was the next day taken by a Dutch privateer off the Land's-end, and carried to Hoorn, in North Holland. When the commiſſioners of the admiralty there underſtood that they would not be exchanged as priſoners of war, they ſet them at liberty, and gave them a paſſport and certificate, "That they had not made their eſcape, but were ſent back by them." From Hoorn they made their way to Amſterdam, where they met with a kind reception from their friends, who provided them with lodging and cloth

lothes, their own having been moſtly taken from em by the privateer's crew. From hence they all eturned to England, except one; who, being a fo- igner, ſtayed in Holland. By theſe means the iles were delivered, and the deſign of the perſe- tors fruſtrated.

In the ſame week that theſe fifty-five perſons ere put on ſhipboard, the bills of mortality in Lon- n amounted to upwards of 3000, and in the next ek to 4030, and went on increaſing till in the nth of September they increaſed to upwards of oo in the week! For a contagion which ſpread rough all the city with unabated violence, muſt na- rally be ſuppoſed to infect the jails with an addi- nal baneful effect. In the aforementioned priſon leſs than fifty-two Quakers laid down their lives teſtimony of a good conſcience, twenty-two of om lay there under ſentence of tranſportation.

On the 9th of the month called Auguſt, Sir John binſon, lieutenant of the Tower, ſent a body of diers to break up the meeting at the Peel, who en- ed it in an hoſtile manner, crying to the aſſembly, hey were all their priſoners." John Eldridge ing by what authority they came, was anſwered a blow on the head with a muſket; and another, aſking the ſame queſtion, was knocked down. e ſoldiers carried away thirty-two of them to wgate, without paying any regard to the perilous ation of that priſon: ſome of theſe were in the nber of the priſoners carried off by the plague in priſon.

n the ſame month eighteen others were commit- to the Gatehouſe, Weſtminſter, by warrants n the Duke of Albemarle, four of which num- died there of the contagion.

Amongſt thoſe who laid down their lives in pri- this year, was Samuel Fiſher, formerly a pariſh acher, at Lydd, in Kent. In the year 1655 he

was

was convinced of the truth, as held by the people called Quakers, and through obedience thereto, became a faithful miniſter. He travelled much in the exerciſe of his miniſterial labours, both in England and foreign parts. At Dunkirk he had good ſervice in teſtifying againſt idolatry, and preaching to the Engliſh garriſon there. He afterwards travelled on foot, with John Stubbs, over the Alps, and through Italy to Rome, where they bore faithful teſtimony to the ſimplicity of truth, and againſt the ſuperſtitions of the religion of that place; they alſo diſtributed ſome books amongſt the eccleſiaſtics there, and when their ſervice was over, paſſed away without moleſtation. But though he eſcaped perſecution abroad amongſt the Romaniſts, he met with his ſhare of it amongſt the profeſſed Proteſtants at home, his ſufferings being very great after his return to England. The greateſt part of the four laſt years of his life he ſpent in priſon; for in 1661, he was ſeveral months a priſoner in the Gatehouſe in Weſtminſter. Soon after his releaſe, he was illegally apprehended, as before related, ſent to Bridewell, and after ſome time brought to Guildhall, where refuſing to take the oaths, he was committed to Newgate, and confined there about twelve months. In a ſhort time after his diſcharge, he was taken again at Charlewood, in Surry, and committed to the White Lyon Priſon in Southwark, where, after near two years impriſonment, on the laſt day of the month called Auguſt, he finiſhed his courſe in this life, appearing to be in perfect peace; in good eſteem both with his friends and many others, not more on account of his eminence as a ſcholar, than of his exemplary humility and circumſpect converſation as a Chriſtian.

With him was taken at the ſame meeting, and committed to the ſame priſon, Joſeph Fuce, who alſo laid down his life there. In the work of the miniſ-

niſtry he had travelled through ſeveral countries; gift being in a peculiar manner adapted to the nvincing of gainſayers, he was frequently engaged diſputes with Independents, Baptiſts, and other eachers—a man of a patient and meek ſpirit, la-rious in the work of the miniſtry, and, as well his brethren, a deep ſufferer on account of his gious perſuaſion. In 1655, being on his travels he exerciſe of goſpel labour, he was taken up order of the mayor of Arundel, and ſent to rtſmouth to be ſhipped for Jamaica, among a mpany of diſorderly perſons, who had been ſen-ced to tranſportation for their vicious courſes. what means he eſcaped, doth not appear; but s reaſonable to ſuppoſe that, in conſideration of barefaced illegality of baniſhing a ſubject un-victed, or charged with a crime, that ſome of more prudent magiſtrates muſt have releaſed n. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, after inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, ſeveral ed men and others ruſhed in, and took thence eph Fuce and twenty-three others; they were all mitted to Sandown Caſtle, and there kept ſeve-days, their friends not being allowed to bring m either food to eat, or ſtraw to lie on. After-ds he and another Friend were removed to Do-Caſtle, where their treatment was ſtill more bar-ous. They were kept locked up with five others heir friends within two or three doors in one m, from which they were permitted no egreſs, ny emergency, however urgent; neither were r friends allowed to bring them neceſſaries; for marſhal had charged his ſervant that he ſhould mit nobody to come near them, and the man hav-ſhewn them ſome little favour, was turned out is place, and another ſubſtituted therein, more ed to the marſhal's diſpoſition; when one of r wives had come ſix miles to bring her huſband

ſome

ſome neceſſaries, he would not ſuffer her to ſee him. Joſeph Fuce, taking an opportunity to remonſtrate to the marſhal againſt the unreaſonableneſs of this uſage, was anſwered with a volley of oaths, against which he thought himſelf obliged to bear his teſtimony, by a ſerious reproof; for which he met with treatment more cruelly ſevere. The marſhal, exaſperated to rage, cauſed him to be dragged headlong down ſeveral ſtone ſteps, into a dungeon, under the bell-tower, overrun with filth and vermin, without aperture for light or air, except ſome holes cut in the door. There he was kept two days and nights without fire, candle, ſtraw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. For want of air, through the damp and ſtench of his diſmal lodging, he fell ſick, and after nine days confinement, he ſeemed at the point of death, when the fear of being queſtioned for murdering him, incited the marſhal to ſuffer him to return to his fellow priſoners, with whom he continued ſeveral months, till releaſed by the King's proclamation. He was alſo confined in Ipſwich jail ſome time, for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, and at laſt laid down his life in the White Lyon Priſon, Southwark.

In this year alſo William Caton died at Amſterdam. His ſervice was much in that country; his religious diſpoſition, convincement, and qualifications for uſefulneſs in ſociety, an account having been given of him, at his firſt introduction into this hiſtory, we have only further to remark, that beſides his literary accompliſhments, and religious converſation, being remarkable for the affability of his compoſition, he engaged the general eſteem of those who were acquainted with him. His perſon while living, and his memory after his removal, were much reſpected, even by perſons of conſequence in that ſtate.

As the plague ſtill continued in London, the parliament was convened this year at Oxford: but the ſtint calamities of war and peſtilence, which ſeem to have made no profitable impreſſion on the members of this parliament, ſo as to incline them to a better temper towards the Non-conformiſts; for they proceeded to enact a freſh penal law, commonly known by the name of "The Oxford five-mile act," which received the royal aſſent, October the 31ſt, 1665. It was entitled, "An act to reſtrain Non-conformiſts from inhabiting corporations."

This bill met with great oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, upon account of its enforcing an unjuſtifiable oath. Even the Earl of Southampton, (Clarendon's intimate friend,) was ſtrenuous in the oppoſition, declaring the oath to be ſuch "as no honeſt man could take." But party prejudice prevailed, and the bill paſſed.

Though this act was principally aimed at the Preſbyterians and Independents, who had formerly enjoyed the church emoluments, it was frequently enforced againſt the Quakers, who, becauſe they could not ſwear, were upon this law proſecuted and impriſoned.

The peſtilence having carried off, according to moſt accounts, near one hundred thouſand of the inhabitants of London, in the courſe of this year; and amongſt them many of the people called Quakers, who left widows and children; the number of objects demanding their aſſiſtance at this period, proving too burdenſome for the men, who held occaſional meetings for the purpoſe of providing for the neceſſity of the poor; they called upon ſome female Friends to be aſſiſtants to them, who readily complying, met for this purpoſe once a week at London.

Such was the fraternal regard which prevailed amongſt this people, that not only the reſident inhabitants

bitants were exercised in this care, but several, as George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Josiah Coale and others, felt themselves incited to come to London, as with their lives in their hands, whatever might be permitted to befal them, to encourage the by their example and exhortations to keep up the meetings, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned; all of whom were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment, in this season of danger.

We left George Fox a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, under a clandestine sentence or record of præmunire, whence the justices, who had been active in his prosecution, perceiving that the arbitrary proceedings against him, being publicly known, and freely canvassed, exposed them to censure, they determined to use endeavours to procure his removal to some remote prison, as the most probable means to make the general dislike of their conduct die away. In order to effect this, it seems they sent some virulent, though groundless, accusations to the King and Council, and obtained an order to remove him from Lancaster.

When they were prepared for his removal, the under-sheriff and bailiffs took him out of the castle, when he was so weakened by lying in that wet and smoky prison, that he could hardly go or stand. They took him into the jailer's house, where Colonel Kirby and others were, who called for some wine to give him; but considering them as the principal authors of his imprisonment, he would not accept their shew of kindness, when suffering severely under the effects of their malice. The horses being ordered out, he desired to see their order, if they intended to remove him: but they would shew him none but their swords, and haled him out, and lifting him upon one of the sheriff's horses, hurried him that night fourteen miles

Bentham,

ntham, though he was hardly able to ſit on horſe-
k; he was treated with much rudeneſs and inci-
ity, which gave him occaſion to remark to the of-
rs, that he received neither chriſtianity, civility,
humanity from them.

At Bentham being delivered into the cuſtody of
reſh guard, he was taken on to Giggleſwick that
ht, though exceedingly weak and weary. All
while he was kept in ignorance of the place of
deſtination; and upon his inquiry of the ſol-
rs, who guarded him, whither he was to be ſent?
ne of them told him, "beyond ſea;" others, "to
mouth Caſtle." Being guarded thence to York,
troopers under Lord Frecheville, they treated
with civility, admitted his friends to viſit him
he way, and allowed him two days reſt at York,
n whence the marſhal, and four or five ſoldiers,
veyed him to Scarborough Caſtle, his appointed
on.

He was here cloſely confined, like a priſoner of
, under a military guard; a ſentinel being placed
is room in the caſtle: but he being ſo weak as
uently to faint, they permitted him at times to
out for air, with a ſentinel to attend him. He
ſoon removed from his firſt room to another,
better, if not worſe, than that in which he was
ined at Lancaſter, being ſo open as to admit the
, and exceedingly offenſive with ſmoke; inſo-
h that the governor, Sir Jordan Croſland, in
pany with Sir Francis Cobb, coming one day to
him, the room was ſo filled with ſmoke, that
could hardly find their way out. He laid out
t fifty ſhillings to keep out the rain, and prevent
ſmoke; and thereby made it tolerable, when he
removed into another ſtill worſe, without chim-
or fire-place, open to the ſea-ſide, ſo that the
drove in the rain violently, the water fell upon
ed, and when his clothes were wet, being with-

out

out fire to dry them, his body was benumbed wit
cold, and his fingers ſwelled to double their natura
ſize. Few or none of his friends were ſuffered t
come to him, even to bring him food, wherefore h
was under the neceſſity of hiring others to do i
Whilſt his friends were debarred from admiſſion t
him, numbers of others were freely admitted, who
curioſity drew to gaze upon him, or who came t
diſpute with him.

Of theſe latter he had viſitants of moſt denom
nations;—Epiſcopalians, Preſbyterians, and Papi
particularly of the laſt, (the governor being of th
perſuaſion,) by whom he was much teized.

To the hardſhips of his impriſonment, his kee
ers added menaces, in order to terrify him. T
deputy governor once told him, "That the Ki
knowing he had a great intereſt in the people, h
ſent him thither, that if there ſhould be any ſtirri
in the nation, they ſhould hang him over the wal
He replied to this menace, "If that was what th
deſired, and it was permitted them, he was rea
for he never feared death or ſufferings in his li
but was known to be an innocent, peaceable m
free from ſtirrings and plottings, and one that ſou
the good of all men."

At length his patience having ſurmounted
hardſhips to which he was expoſed, and his in
cence pleading in his favour with his keepers, t
gradually relaxed their ſeverity, and became favo
able and reſpectful to him. The officers would
quently ſay, he was as ſtiff as an oak, and as pur
a bell, for we could never bow him.

After he had been a priſoner in Scarboro
Caſtle above a year, he laid his caſe before the K
relating the manner of impriſonment, and the tr
ment he had met with; ſubjoining, that he was
formed that no man could deliver him but the K
himſelf. His friend Eſquire Marſh exerted his
deavo

eavours to procure ſucceſs to his application, and rough the maſter of requeſts, obtained the King's der for his releaſe. As ſoon as this order was ought to Scarborough, and delivered to the go- rnor, he immediately diſcharged him.

George Fox was willing to make the governor an knowledgment for the civility he had lately ſhewn m, who would not receive any thing, but told m, "Whatever good he could do him or his ends, he would do it, and never do them any rt:" which promiſe his conſequent conduct made od.

It was juſt at this time that a dreadful conflagra- n broke out in Pudding Lane, over againſt the ce where the Monument is erected, whereby in ew days time the greateſt part of the city within walls was conſumed. The inhabitants fled for ir lives, with what goods they could ſave, into oorfields, where they lodged in tents. Many fa- lies, who had lived in opulence, were now re- ced to diſtreſs. For the ſpace of three days the ſpread devaſtation, and baffled all exertions to p its progreſs. At laſt it ceaſed almoſt as won- rfully as it began: when all human efforts fail- it ſeemed to die away, and to be extinguiſhed every ſide, as by a peculiar interpoſition of Pro- lence.

The Bull and Mouth meeting-houſe being de- oyed by the fire, the meetings of this people con- ued to be held regularly as they fell in courſe in ir other meeting-houſes, which had eſcaped; . Wheeler Street, Peel, Devonſhire Houſe, &c. they had ſome reſpite from perſecution for a ſon, until the city was in a meaſure rebuilt.

The number of the Friends increaſing, they built ew meeting-houſe this year in White Hart urt, Gracechurch Street; which, from its central ation, became afterwards the place for their yearly

yearly meetings. Here, as well as in other place they met with frequent diſturbance by the traine bands and informers, being many of them ofte haled out by force, and obliged to hold their mee ings in the ſtreet.

The hiſtory of this people, from their firſt riſe this time, preſents one continued ſeries of perſec tion, throu h the ſucceſſive revolutions of gover ment; the ſecular powers, urged on by the eccleſia tics, to whoſe power and emolument their prin ples were averſe, exerted every effort, ſhort of ca tal puniſhment, to leſſen their numbers, and ſt their progreſs, and from man they had little cou tenance; yet notwithſtanding, by the ſupport of t divine hand, the ſociety increaſed, ſo that they we now become a numerous body.

As ſoon as George Fox was freed from his co finement, he paſſed through part of Yorkſhire, D byſhire, and Nottinghamſhire, viſiting his frien and having many large and edifying meetin amongſt them; notwithſtanding ſome attempts have him taken again, for perſecution was ſtill pra tiſed in ſome counties. So proceeding ſouthw through divers counties, he came to London; h was ſo weak from the greateſt part of three years i priſonment, and his joints ſo benumbed, that it with difficulty he could mount his horſe.

The numbers and the exigencies of the ſoci being increaſed, he ſaw it neceſſary to increaſe number of meetings of diſcipline. The ſervice theſe meetings ſeems to have gradually opened the ſtate of the ſociety required. In 1660 we h taken notice of a general meeting for church affa held at Skipton in Yorkſhire, which had then b held ſome years, wherein the buſineſs was confi to the taking an account of their ſufferings, making collections for the relief of their poor. terwards quarterly meetings were eſtabliſhed

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don, and in other parts, which, in addition to former ſubjects of attention, had the charge of reputation of the ſociety, to watch over the nbers, and admoniſh ſuch as might appear diſor-y; the women's meetings for buſineſs had chief-he care of poor widows and orphans.

During his ſtay in London at that time, he felt it concern to recommend the eſtabliſhing five thly meetings of men and women in that city, to ſact ſuch matters as had before been the employ-t of the quarterly meeting, and to unite in a ge-l meeting once in three months, for mutual ad- and deliberation, in relation to the common af- of the whole body of Friends in the city. ing ſtaid here to ſee his recommendation in reduced to practice, the advantage reſulting from appeared to him ſo evident, that he found duty to make a progreſs, firſt through the ad-t counties, and afterwards through many of the remote, to get theſe monthly meetings in like ner eſtabliſhed throughout the nation. The od and order, wherein the monthly and quar- meetings were to be eſtabliſhed and conducted, mmunicated by letter to ſuch counties as he not viſit, and to his friends in Scotland, Ire- Holland, Barbadoes, and the continent of Ame- whom he afterwards viſited in perſon.

ter monthly meetings were eſtabliſhed, the ſer- of them ſtill extended. George Fox, after his it through the counties, returned to London; he perceived the expediency of the monthly ngs taking cognizance of the orderly pro- ngs towards marriage, and therefore recom- ed it.

om London he continued his travels to other ies, till the meetings for diſcipline were ſet- n all, or moſt parts of the nation, whereby the over the members of the ſociety was widely

ſpread,

ſpread, and the body became compacted together
a mutual concern for each other's temporal and ſ
ritual proſperity.

THE DISCIPLINE* EXERCISED AMONG THE PEOPL CALLED QUAKERS.

THE purpoſes which our diſcipline hath chie in view, are, the relief of the poor, the maintena of good order, the ſupport of the teſtimonies wh we believe it is our duty to bear to the world, the help and recovery of ſuch as are overtake faults.

In the practice of diſcipline, we think it in penſable that the order recommended by C himſelf be invariably obſerved: "†If thy bro ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his f between thee and him alone: if he ſhall hear t thou haſt gained thy brother; but if he will not thee, then take with thee one or two more, th the mouth of two or three witneſſes, every may be eſtabliſhed: and if he ſhall neglect to them, tell it unto the church."

To effect the ſalutary purpoſes of diſcip meetings were appointed, at an early period o ſociety, which, from the times of their being were called Quarterly-meetings. It was after found expedient ‡ to divide the diſtricts of meetings, and to meet more frequently; from wh aroſe Monthly-meetings, ſubordinate to thoſe quarterly. At length, in 1669, ‖ a Yearly-me

* See "A Summary of the Principles of Friends," p ed by J. Phillips and Son, London.

† Matt. xviii. 15 to 17.

‡ Sewel, 485. ‖ Fox, 390.

s eſtabliſhed, to ſuperintend, aſſiſt, and provide es for the whole, previouſly to which, general etings had been occaſionally held.

A Monthly-meeting is uſually compoſed of ſeve- particular congregations, * ſituated within a con- ient diſtance from each other. Its buſineſs is to vide for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, and for the cation of their offspring; to judge of the ſinceri- and fitneſs of perſons appearing to be convinced he religious principles of the ſociety, and deſiring be admitted into membership; † to excite due at- tion to the diſcharge of religious and moral du- and to deal with diſorderly members. Month- meetings alſo grant to ſuch of their members as ove into other Monthly-meetings certificates of ir membership and conduct; without which they not gain membership in ſuch meetings. Each onthly-meeting is required to appoint certain per- s, under the name of overſeers, who are to take e that the rules of our diſcipline be put in prac- e; and when any caſe of complaint, or diſorderly nduct, comes to their knowledge, to ſee that pri- e admonition, agreeably to the goſpel rule before- ntioned, be given, previouſly to its being laid be- e the Monthly-meeting.

When a caſe is introduced, it is uſual for a ſmall mmittee to be appointed, to viſit the offender, to deavour to convince him of his error, and to in-

* Where this is the caſe, it is uſual for the members of each gregation to form what is called a preparative meeting, be- le its buſineſs is to prepare whatever may occur among mſelves, to be laid before the Monthly-meeting.

† On application of this kind, a ſmall committee is appoint- to viſit the party, and report to the Monthly-meeting; ich is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership, thout allowing a ſeaſonable time to conſider their conduct.

duce him to forſake and condemn it*. If they ſu
ceed, the perſon is by minute declared to have ma
ſatisfaction for the offence; if not, he is diſown
as a member of the ſociety†.

In diſputes between individuals, it has long be
the decided judgment of the ſociety, that its me
bers ſhould not ſue each other at law. It therefo
enjoins all to end their differences by ſpeedy a
impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid dow
If any refuſe to adopt this mode, or, having adopt
it, to ſubmit to the award, it is the direction of t
Yearly-meeting that ſuch be diſowned.

To Monthly-meetings alſo belongs the allow
of marriages; for our ſociety hath always ſcrup
to acknowledge the excluſive authority of the pri
in the ſolemnization of marriage. Thoſe who
tend to marry appear together and propoſe th
intention to the Monthly-meeting; and if not
tended by their parents and guardians, produc
written certificate of their conſent, ſigned in the p
ſence of witneſſes. The meeting then appoint
committee to inquire whether they be clear of ot
engagements reſpecting marriage; and if at a ſ
ſequent meeting, to which the parties alſo come
declare the continuance of their intention, no
jections be reported, they have the meeting's c
ſent to ſolemnize their intended marriage. Thi

* This is generally done by a written acknowledgm
ſigned by the offender.

† This is done by what is termed a teſtimony of de
which is a paper reciting the offence, and ſometimes the
which have led to it; next, the means unavailingly uſe
reclaim the offender; after that, a clauſe diſowning him
which is uſually added an expreſſion of deſire for his repenta
and for his being reſtored to membership.

ne in a public meeting for worſhip, towards the ſe whereof the parties ſtand up, and ſolemnly e each other for huſband and wife. A certifi- e of the proceedings is then publicly read, and ned by the parties, and afterwards by the rela- ns and others as witneſſes. Of ſuch marriage Monthly-meeting keeps a record; as alſo of the hs and burials of its members. A certificate of date, of the name of the infant, and of its pa- ents, ſigned by thoſe preſent at the birth, is the ject of one of theſe laſt-mentioned records; an order for the interment, counterſigned by grave-maker, of the other. The naming of dren is without ceremony. Burials are alſo con- ted in a ſimple manner. The body, followed he relations and friends, is ſometimes, previouſly nterment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave uſe is generally made; on both which occaſions equently falls out, that one or more Friends pre- have ſomewhat to expreſs for the edification of e who attend; but no religious rite is conſidered n eſſential part of burial.

everal Monthly-meetings compoſe a Quarterly- ting. At the Quarterly-meeting are produced ten anſwers from the Monthly-meetings, to cer- queries reſpecting the conduct of their mem- , and the meeting's care over them. The ac- nts thus received, are digeſted into one, which nt, alſo in the form of anſwers to queries, by re- entatives, to the Yearly-meeting. Appeals the judgment of Monthly-meetings, are ght to the Quarterly-meetings; whoſe buſineſs it is to aſſiſt in any difficult caſe, or where re- neſs appears in the care of the Monthly-meet- over the individuals who compoſe them.

he Yearly-meeting has the general ſuperintend-

ence of the ſociety in the country in which it is e
tabliſhed; * and therefore, as the accounts which
receives diſcover the ſtate of inferior meetings,
particular exigencies require, or as the meeting
impreſſed with a ſenſe of duty, it gives forth its a
vice, makes ſuch regulations as appear to be requ
ſite, or excites to the obſervance of thoſe alrea
made; and ſometimes appoints committees to vi
thoſe Quarterly-meetings which appear to be
need of immediate advice. Appeals from the jud
ment of Quarterly-meetings are here finally det
mined; and a brotherly correſpondence, by epiſt
is maintained with other Yearly-meetings.†

In this place it is proper to add, that, as
believe women may be rightly called to the w
of the miniſtry, we alſo think that to them belo
a ſhare in the ſupport of our Chriſtian diſcipli
and that ſome parts of it, wherein their own ſe
concerned, devolve on them with peculiar prop
ty: accordingly they have Monthly, Quarte
and Yearly-meetings of their own ſex, held at
ſame time, and in the ſame place, with thoſe of
men; but ſeparately, and without the power
making rules: and it may be remarked that du
the perſecutions, which in the laſt century occa
ed the impriſonment of ſo many of the men, the
of the poor often fell on the women, and wa
them ſatisfactorily adminiſtered.

In order that thoſe who are in the ſituatio
miniſters may have the tender ſympathy and co

* There are ſeven Yearly-meetings, viz. 1 London, to
come Repreſentatives from Ireland, 2 New England,
York, 4 Pennſylvania and New Jerſey, 5 Maryland, 6 Vi
7 The Carolinas and Georgia.

† See the laſt note.

thoſe of either ſex,* who, by their experience in work of religion, are qualified for that ſervice, Monthly-meetings are adviſed to ſelect ſuch, der the denomination of elders. Theſe, and mi-ers approved by their Monthly-meetings, † have etings peculiar to themſelves, called Meetings of niſters and Elders; in which they have an op-tunity of exciting each other to a diſcharge of ir ſeveral duties, and of extending advice to thoſe o may appear to be weak, without any needleſs oſure. Such meetings are generally held in the npaſs of each Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly-eting. They are conducted by rules preſcribed the Yearly-meeting, and have no authority to e any alteration or addition to them. The nbers of them unite with their brethren in the etings for diſcipline, and are equally accountable he latter for their conduct.

is to a meeting of this kind in London, called Second-day's Morning-meeting, that the reviſal anuſcripts concerning our principles, previouſ-publication, is intruſted by the Yearly-meeting in London; and alſo the granting, in the in-ls of the Yearly-meeting, of certificates of ap-ation to ſuch miniſters as are concerned to tra-n the work of the miniſtry in foreign parts; in ion to thoſe granted by their Monthly and rterly-meetings. When a viſit of this kind not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate

* Fox, 461, 492.

† Thoſe who believe themſelves required to ſpeak in meet-or worſhip, are not immediately acknowledged as miniſ-y their Monthly-meetings; but time is taken for judg-that the meeting may be ſatisfied of their call and quali-n. It will alſo ſometimes happen, that ſuch as are not ed, will obtrude themſelves as miniſters, to the grief of rethren; but much forbearance is uſed towards theſe, be-e diſapprobation of the meeting is publicly teſtified.

from the Monthly-meeting of which the minister a member is sufficient; if to Ireland, the concurrence of the Quarterly-meeting is also required. Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly-meetings.

The Yearly-meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, which hath continued with great use to the society to this day. It is composed of Friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly-meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded as such, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly-meeting. Those of the men who are approved ministers, are also members of this meeting which is called the Meeting for Sufferings; a name arising from its original purpose, which is not now become intirely obsolete.

The Yearly-meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock;* and considered as a standing committee of the Yearly-meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, and requiring immediate attention: particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government.

There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned, any president, as we believe

* This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books; house-rent for a clerk, and his wages for keeping records; the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea; and some small incidental charges.

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ivine Wiſdom alone ought to preſide; nor hath y member a right to claim pre-eminence over the ſt. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is dertaken voluntarily by ſome member; as is alſo e keeping of the records. Where theſe are very luminous, and require a houſe for their depoſit, s is the caſe in London, where the general records the ſociety in Great Britain are kept,) a clerk is red to have the care of them; but except a few erks of this kind, and perſons who have the care meeting-houſes, none receive any ſtipend or gra-ty for their ſervices in our religious ſociety.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation d eſtabliſhment of our diſcipline; by which it ll be ſeen, that it is not (as hath been frequently inuated) merely the work of modern times; but s the early care and concern of our pious prede-ſors.—We cannot better cloſe this ſhort ſketch it, than by obſerving, that if the exerciſe of diſ-pline ſhould in ſome inſtances appear to preſs hard on thoſe, who, neglecting the monitions of Di-ne Counſel in their hearts, are alſo unwilling to accountable to their brethren; yet, if that great, ding, and indiſpenſable rule, enjoined by our rd, be obſerved by thoſe who undertake to be ive in it, "Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould to you, do ye even ſo to them," * it will pre-nt the cenſure of the church from falling on any ng but that which really obſtructs the progreſs of uth. Diſcipline will then promote, in an emi-nt degree, that love of our neighbour, which is mark of diſcipleſhip, and without which a pro-ſion of love to God, and to his cauſe, is a vain tence. "He," ſaid the beloved diſciple, "that veth not his brother whom he hath ſeen, how can

* Matt. vii, 12.

he love God whom he hath not ſeen? and this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother alſo*."

CHAP. VIII.

VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS IN BERKSHIRE.—TWENTY PERSONS IMPRISONED, AND TWO SENTENCED TO BANISHMENT.—PERSECUTION IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—WILLIAM PENN, ROBERT BARCLAY, AND MANY OTHERS JOIN WITH FRIENDS.

DURING the rebuilding of London perſecution abated for a ſeaſon, not only in the city, but through the nation in general: Yet in ſome parts it was kept alive by ſome magiſtrates, who ſtill continued to harraſs the members of this ſociety.

In Berkſhire in particular, they had been grievouſly perſecuted for a ſeries of time, from 1660, principally through the antipathy of William Armourer, a juſtice of peace.

From a meeting at Thomas Curtis's, at Reading, the 27th of the month called March, 1664, having ſent thirty-four men to the county jail, for being at a religious meeting, he went again that day week, and finding only two men there, Robert Paine and John Boult, he committed them to priſon after the reſt.

He continued to viſit their meetings from time to time, till he had impriſoned moſt, or all the men, and then he proceeded to impriſon the women. Some time after, finding only a few children and young maidens in the meeting, he ſtruck one of them with his ſtaff, ordered them to be pulled out, and threatened to ſend them to priſon, if they ſhould come thither any more.

* 1 John, iv. 20, 21.

At the quarter ſeſſions at Abingdon, the priſoners re called to the bar; but inſtead of a legal trial, accuſtomed ſnare was reſorted to, the tender of oath of allegiance. The firſt, who was called, s James Whiteheart, who, coming with his hat was ordered to be taken away, without being eſtioned, whether he would take the oath or not. The next was Henry Pizeing, not a Quaker, o coming to the bar, with his hat off, and bow- the judge, (Thomas Holt,) ſaid, "Here's a n has ſome manners," and aſked him, whether would take the oath of allegiance? to which he lied, "I have taken it already." But, ſaid the ge, "you were no Quaker then." Henry re- d, "neither am I now, but have been many eks among them, and I never ſaw any hurt by m; but they are an honeſt civil people." Upon ich Armourer ſtood up and ſaid, "Why did not tell me ſo before?" Henry anſwered, "Your ſhip was ſo wrathful, that you would not hear " The oath being then tendered, he took it, was diſcharged.

Several other priſoners being interrogated in like nner, anſwered, they were not committed on ount of the oath, but for being at a meeting. the oath being inſiſted upon, Thomas Curtis rmed the court, "that he did not refuſe the through any default of allegiance to the king, becauſe Chriſt commanded, not to ſwear at all;" he had approved himſelf a faithful ſubject, and ld take that oath as ſoon as any; and therefore red the court to direct one of their miniſters to rm him from ſcripture, how he might take it, not break the command of Chriſt. Upon this ieſt ſitting by was deſired to ſatisfy Thomas in point: but being cautious of entering into debate n this ſubject, he put it off, under the pretence , "they were an obſtinate people, and not to be

ſatisfied. At length Armourer ordered them to b taken away, ſaying, "I know they will not ta it."

Thomas Curtis, againſt whom and his wife Ann (whoſe father, it hath been remarked, loſt his li for his fidelity to the king) Armourer bore a pa ticular ill-will, having obtained liberty from th ſheriff, whoſe priſoner he was, to attend Brift fair, on his trading concerns, Armourer hearing it, ſent for him to an inn, and addreſſing himſelf him, ſaid, "I hear you are going to Briſtol fa but I will ſtop your journey:" and by arbitra compulſion, without legal authority, removed hi out of the ſheriff's cuſtody to the town priſon Reading.

Having gratified his malice ſo far, as to ha Thomas Curtis and his wife both ſhut up in p ſon, Thomas's trade and houſe were under t care of a man and maid ſervant, whom he threate ed alſo to ſend to jail, and nailed up the doo to prevent any more meetings being there. So after he ſent his warrant to take the man ſervant, whom, when brought before him, and the mayo they tendered the oath of allegiance, and upon h declining it, committed him alſo to priſon; b could not accompliſh their deſign, of preventi the continuance of meetings. Some time after, committed the maid ſervant to the houſe of corre tion for forty-eight hours. At which time t whole family were in priſon.

Whilſt Thomas Curtis, his wife, and man ſe vant, were in priſon, Armourer ſent his man enquire, if there were any in the houſe beſide t family, and the maid informing him there we not, he came in perſon a little after, and knock at the door, which the maid, being in fear, w not forward to open. Armourer then picked t lock, entered the houſe, and ſearching it fro

roo

room to room, found Joſeph Cole, whoſe dwelling was there, and who was confined by indiſpoſition. Armourer, taking him by the arm, and dragging him down ſtairs, aſked him "if he would take the oath of allegiance," which he refuſing, was ſent to the houſe of correction, and kept in priſon till his death, which happened in 1670.

At the quarter ſeſſions at Reading, the latter end of 1664, about fifty priſoners were brought to the bar, and an indictment read againſt them for wilfully refuſing the oath, to which, at Newbury ſeſſions, they had pleaded not guilty. The evidences were Sir William Armourer, and the clerk of the peace, who ſwore that the oath had been tendered to them at the laſt Abingdon ſeſſions. The council for the king inſiſted much on the credit of the witneſſes, telling the jury, "they muſt either bring in the priſoners guilty, or they would make Sir William Armourer and the clerk as perjured perſons." Nevertheleſs the jury, on ſtrict enquiry, perceiving that the tender of the oath was irregular, and the clerk acknowledging he could not tell whether it was read before or after they were called over, brought in their verdict, not guilty. Upon which the court broke up, and many of the priſoners being diſcharged by the jury, went away. But Armourer and ſome others ſtaying behind, ordered the tiler to call back the Quakers. Thomas Curtis, George Lambold, and their wives, with three others appeared, the reſt being gone.

To theſe they proceeded to tender the oath afreſh; whereupon, Thomas Curtis remarked, it was not the part of men of honour, to endeavour to enſnare thoſe whom the jury have cleared. We do believe you aim to enſnare us, and it is our eſtates you are seeking after. It is well if ſome of you have not begged them already. George Lambold being next required to take the oath, anſwered, as to the oath

of obedience, he could promiſe much, and ſhould keep his promiſe. Not content with adminiſtering the oath to the men, they proceeded to do the ſame to their wives, to which Anne Curtis remonſtrated, that it was a hard caſe, ſhe ſhould be required to take the oath, being under covert, "and my huſband here a ſufferer for the very ſame thing; for," added ſhe, "there is no other woman in England under covert (that I have heard of) who is required to take that oath, and kept in priſon on that account." But Armourer in a paſſionate vulgariſm, cried out, "hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back." And ſo ſhe, with the reſt, was ſent back to priſon.

By the ſucceeding ſeſſion at Newbury, Armourer had ſent to priſon again a conſiderable number of thoſe who were releaſed at laſt ſeſſions.

The priſoners, to the number of twenty-ſix, were continued from ſeſſions to aſſizes, and from aſſizes to ſeſſions until near the end of the year; when at the ſeſſion at Reading, twenty were condemned in premunire, and remanded to priſon, and two women convicted of meeting the third time were ſentenced to be tranſported to Barbadoes.

Such a ſpecimen of premunire by wholeſale, ſeems to confirm Thomas Curtis's obſervation, that it was their eſtates they wanted; and himſelf, as one poſſeſſed of the greateſt property, was not paſſed by; for, on the 19th of the month called June, this year (1666), John Witham, under ſheriff, and Thos. Roſs, the Duke of Monmouth's tutor, came to the jail and told Thomas Curtis and George Lambold they had a warrant from the king, to ſeize their eſtates. They ſeized their books, papers and writings, and one hundred and fifty pounds in money of Thomas Curtis's; then they went to their houſes and took an inventory of what they could find, but

heir promiſe to be anſwerable for the goods,
did not remove them.

nne Curtis and Sarah Lambold, were brought
e ſeſſions at Newbury, but their trial was put
However, Armourer, not being preſent, the
ces granted them their liberty, upon promiſe
ppearing at the next ſeſſions. This diſpleaſed
ourer, who preſently ſent the jailer's man to
them to priſon again: the man told him that
juſtices had given them liberty until the next
ons: To which Armourer replied, "What
the juſtices to do with my priſoners?" and
atened to lay the man by the heels, if he did not
his orders: ſo he ſent Sarah Lambold back
riſon; but Anne Curtis being gone to Briſtol,
out of his reach.

n the ſame day that her huſband's effects were
d, being returned from Briſtol, ſhe was, by
ourer's warrant carried again to priſon; where,
ſhe had been detained about two months, at
interceſſion of the perſons, who had the charge
er huſband's eſtate, ſhe was ſet at liberty by an
r under Armourer's hand; notwithſtanding
ch, he ſometime after remanded her to priſon,
her former commitment, at a time when ſhe
confined to her chamber through indiſpoſition!
s a further illuſtration of the lawleſs proceed-
of this man and his aſſociates, I ſhall take no-
of a trial at their ſeſſions at Reading, on the
of the month called January, 1666.
was that of Joſeph Phipps, for the third of-
e, on the act of baniſhment. A Quaker, who
been juſt before tried, was acquitted; whereupon
court diſmiſſed the jury, and impannelled ano-
Armourer's direction to the bailiffs being,
o out and pick a jury, you know there are ho-
men enough in the town," one of the bailiffs
vered, "Yes, Sir William, I'll fit you." Ano-

ther

ther jury being ſworn, Joſeph was ſet to the b
and having pleaded "not guilty," he inſiſted th
were not five perſons of ſixteen years of age at t
meeting, and therefore he was not within the a
Edward Dolby anſwered, if there were but one
that age, yet if there were five preſent, he wo
ſend that one to priſon as a breaker of the law;
though the reſt were not puniſhable by the act,
they would ſerve to make up the number. T
unequal conſtruction of the law was preſſed up
the jury; as was alſo the confeſſion of the priſone
that they were met to ſeek the Lord. And wh
one of them aſked, whether to ſeek the Lord wa
crime worthy of baniſhment? the judge anſwer
yes. The jury went out, but could not agree: bu
as favoured the priſoners cauſe were threaten
and they were ordered to be kept up all night wi
out fire or candle. Next morning the court
again, and ſent to know whether they were agre
one of them ſaid, "I am not ſatisfied:" yet the fo
man ſaid, "Guilty," though four of the jury had
agreed to the verdict: however the judge paſſed ſe
tence on Phipps, that he ſhould be tranſported
ſome of his majeſty's plantations, there to rem
ſeven years; under which ſentence he was return
to priſon, and lay there until diſcharged by let
patent, about ſix years after.

In Northamptonſhire alſo, perſecution was c
ried on without relaxation, through this and t
ſucceeding year. Several were tried on the act
baniſhment, of whom four were ſentenced to tra
portation.

Impriſonments were frequent and numerous.
one time, a conſtable came with a rabble to a me
ing at the houſe of John Makerneſs, in Find
took about forty of the perſons aſſembled, detain
them in an alſehouſe all night, and next day co
ve

veyed them, like criminals, in a cart or waggon, to Juſtice Yelverton's, who, with another juſtice, ined them forty ſhillings, and for non-payment ent them to the county jail for weeks. Another ime fifteen men and ten women were carried be-ore Yelverton, who ſigned a mittimus for commit-ing ten of the men to priſon; but another juſtice's and being neceſſary, he directed his clerk to carry to Juſtice Ward. The men were again put into he cart, and conveyed with the mittimus to the ſaid uſtice, but he refuſed to ſign it, and no other was ound willing to do it, nor could the jailer legally eceive them without the ſignature of two juſtices. o the priſoners after being thus driven from juſtice juſtice, were permitted to return home. But me time after ſix of them were taken by another arrant, and ſent to jail; three of whom were af-rwards ſentenced to tranſportation. The number perſons of this perſuaſion, at one time under cloſe nfinement in the county jail, was more than urſcore, of whom many were huſbandmen, locked from their buſineſs, both in hay time and harveſt, their great detriment.

In 1667-8, William Penn and Robert Barclay, o young men, eminent for their virtue, as well for their natural abilities, were added to this ſo-ety.

The former was born in the city of London, 44. His father, a man of eſtate and reputation, the time of the Commonwealth, had filled ſome the higheſt ſtations in the navy, with honour d fidelity. He retained his poſt after the reſtora-n, was knighted by Charles II. and peculiarly ſtinguiſhed as a favourite by the Duke of York. s father's affectionate attention procured him a eral education; about his fifteenth year, he was tered a ſtudent in a college at Oxford.

Sometime after his removal to college, at a meet-ing

ing of the Quakers, through the miniſtry of Thomas Loe, he conceived ſome true ideas of pure and ſpiritual religion, and was impreſſed with an ardent deſire after the experimental attainment thereof. In conſequence, he, with certain other ſtudents, were inclined to withdraw from the public worſhip, and held private meetings for the exerciſe of religion. This gave offence to the heads of the college, and he, at ſixteen years of age, was fined for non-conformity; but this puniſhment not abating the fervour of his zeal, he was at length expelled.

From thence he returned home; but ſtill took delight in the company of religious people, from whom his father fearing he might contract a turn of mind little accommodated to advance him to the preferment in the ſtate, which he fondly flattered himſelf, his intereſt might procure him, he endeavoured, both by words and blows, to deter him therefrom; but finding thoſe methods ineffectual he was ſo incenſed, that he turned him out of doors.

Patience ſurmounted this difficulty, until his father's affection ſubdued his anger; who then ſent him to France, in company with ſome perſons of quality. He continued there a conſiderable time until his converſation amongſt that gay people, diverted his mind from ſerious thoughts. At his return, his father finding him not only a good proficient in the French language, but polite in his behaviour, flattering himſelf with the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, welcomed him with a joyful reception.

For ſome time after his return from France, his behaviour procured him the character of an accompliſhed gentleman, and of conſequence the eſtimation of his acquaintance; but amidſt the flatteries of men, he found a diſturber within his own boſom reminding him of his former good reſolutions, and of a ſtate of futurity. And though guilty of nothing

which

hich the world terms criminal, yet he was ſenſible had loſt ground, as to the attainment of that in-rd purity of heart, in which he had ſeen the ſtance of religion to conſiſt; and was renewed o an earneſt deſire of regaining what he had loſt. t in directing his attention this way, he ſuffered ainful ſpiritual conflict: his natural inclination, ely diſpoſition, and acquired accompliſhments, father's favour, and the reſpect of his friends, re ſo many incentives, to embrace the glory and aſures of this world, then courting his acquaint-ce; and were mountains of oppoſition in his way to pt that pure religion, which might endanger his inquiſhing them all.

In 1666, his father having committed to his care conſiderable eſtate in Ireland, he went over to t kingdom, and being in the city of Cork, he informed that Thomas Loe was likely to be at eeting there: he went to hear him: who began public teſtimony in theſe words, "There is a h that overcomes the world, and there is a faith t is overcome by the world:" upon which ſubject enlarged with great clearneſs and energy: and the powerful teſtimony of this man (whoſe mi-try had made profitable impreſſion upon him ſe-al years before) he was ſo thoroughly convinced, t from this time he joined the ſociety of the akers, and conſtantly attended their meetings ough all the heat of perſecution.

t was not long before his father was informed by obleman, what danger his ſon was in, of being ſelyted to Quakeriſm, whereupon he remanded n home; and although there was no great altera-n in his dreſs, yet the ſerioufneſs of his deport-nt, was a manifeſt indication of the truth of the rmation his father had received, who thereupon ewed his efforts, to bring him off from a way of nking, which would diſappoint all his hopes, of

ſeeing

ſeeing him advanced at court: but his efforts prove in vain.

At length, finding him too firmly fixed in the principles, to be brought to a general compliance with the cuſtomary compliments of the times, his father ſeemed inclinable to have borne with him in other reſpects, provided he would appear uncovered in the preſence of the king, the duke, and himſelf; which being propoſed to him, he deſired time to conſider of it, and retiring to his chamber, humbled himſelf with faſting and ſupplication, to receive divine direction, and was ſo ſtrengthened in his mind, that, returning to his father, he humbly ſignified that he could not comply with his deſire.

When all endeavours proved ineffectual, his father turned him out of doors the ſecond time, whereby he was expoſed to the charity of his friends, having no other ſubſiſtence except what his mother privately ſent to him.

Being called to the miniſtry about the twenty-fourth year of his age, he approved himſelf a workman that need not be aſhamed. Nor was he only diſtinguiſhed for his labours in the miniſtry, but alſo for his writings in defence of the principles he had adopted, and for propagating the practice of piety among mankind in general*.

Robert Barclay was exempted from the ſevere obſtructions and diſcouragements, which ſtood in the way of William Penn's embracing this profeſſion, his father having adopted it before him. He also was well deſcended, and had received the advantage of a good education. He was the ſon of Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, near Aberdeen. He was born in Edinburgh, 1648, and in his infancy

* See "No Cross no Crown," containing the living and dying teſtimonies of many perſons of fame and learning both of ancient and modern times, in favour of the power of religion on the mind.

as educated among the Calviniſts, in his own ountry; but early removed from thence, for the ke of an opportunity of a more extenſive educa- on under the tuition of his uncle, who was preſi- ent of the Scotch college at Paris, where he attained proficiency in the French language as well as the atin, with other branches of literature.

The Papiſts endeavoured to make a proſelyte of m; and their endeavours, in that tender age, made me impreſſion upon him; but as his judgment pened, he ſoon diſcovered the errors of their reli- ous ſyſtem. He returned home about 1664, in e 16th year of his age, and during his abſence s father having joined himſelf in fellowſhip with e Quakers, by his example, as well as the con- erſe and conduct of others of that profeſſion, he as impreſſed with the excellency of that religion, hich produced ſo remarkable a conſiſtency of con- uct in life and converſation.

Under this impreſſion, he was induced * to at- nd the religious meetings of this people; and, in 667, he made public profeſſion of their principles, king up his croſs to the glory and friendſhip of e world, manifeſting that the contemptible name a Quaker could not deter him from following, wning, and defending truth, wherever to be found; teeming all things as droſs, in compariſon of the nowledge of Chriſt, which he intently ſought

* "It was not by the ſtrength of argument, or by a parti- lar diſquiſition of each doctrine, and convincement of my un- rſtanding, that I came to receive and bear witneſs of the uth; but by being ſecretly reached by the [principle of light d life, to which they were gathered] for when I came into e *ſilent aſſemblies* of God's people, I felt a *ſecret power* among em, which touched my heart, and as I gave way to it, I und the evil weakening in me, and the good raiſed up, and ſo became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and ore after this power and life, whereby I might feel myſelf rfectly redeemed." *Barclay's Apology*, Pro. 11. §. 7.

after

after as his greateſt honour. He laboured in his miniſtry to bring others to the knowledge of God, and his labour was not in vain: he was alſo much engaged in controverſy with the opponents and ſlanderers of the ſociety, chiefly with his own countrymen, both verbally and in writing. In ſhort, by means of his eſſays, and thoſe of William Penn and ſome other cotemporary writers, as George Whitehead, Thomas Elwood, and Iſaac Pennington, &c. thoſe principles, hitherto expoſed to contempt and odium, by the form wherein their adverſaries had repreſented them to public view, began to put on a more pleaſing appearance, whereby the candid and diſpaſſionate part of mankind were ready to own them to be no abſurd combination of wild notions, but a regular ſyſtem of important, rational, and practical truths.

About this time Roger Haydock, of Lancaſhire, came over to this ſociety, whoſe converſion had ſomething peculiar in it. His elder brother John having joined their communion, occaſioned conſiderable uneaſineſs to his mother, a zealous Preſbyterian; when Roger coming to his father's houſe, and being reputed a learned man, ſhe prevailed upon him to uſe his endeavours to convince his brother of the abſurdity of his choice: he accordingly entered into diſcourſe with him, when John gave him ſuch cogent reaſons for his change, as ſoon put him to ſilence; his mother being diſpleaſed that he did not hold out the argument more ſtoutly, he told her, "it was truth, and he could not gainſay it." Being thus brought to the acknowledgment of the truth, he ſoon came to make public profeſſion thereof, and in proceſs of time became an eminent miniſter and a ſerviceable member of this ſociety.

Miles Halhead, travelling this year in Devonſhire, and being brought before the magiſtrates

as aſked, what buſineſs he (who dwelt in Weſt-
oreland) had in Devonſhire? to which he an-
ered, that he was come to ſee ſome, whom for-
erly he had acquaintance with. One of the ma-
ſtrates aſked him, what were the names of his
iends he meant; upon which he named ſeveral
rmer magiſtrates of that county: one of the pre-
nt magiſtrates remarked, "Truly, gentlemen,
ough this man calls theſe his friends, yet they
ve been his perſecutors." Another of the ma-
ſtrates then gave him an account of the diſaſters
hich had befallen them, and how they had loſt
eir eſtates; that one of them having been impri-
ned for high treaſon, had eſcaped out of jail and
d fled the country; adding, "if theſe men were
ur perſecutors, you may be ſure they will trou-
e you no more; for if they that perſecuted you
ve no better fortune than theſe men, I wiſh that
ither I nor any of my friends may have any hand
perſecuting you."

In this year Richard Farnſworth laid down the
dy in the city of London. He was one of the
ſt that received George Fox's teſtimony, ſoon
er his releaſe from impriſonment at Derby,
hile the name of Quaker was but juſt known;
d joined him in ſociety and miniſterial labour.
any were ſtrengthened by him to forſake the
l of their ways; he alſo partook in the ſuffer-
gs to which they were expoſed.

About 1656, walking with one of his friends in
ſtreet of Banbury, he met the mayor and a
ſtice of the peace, whoſe name was Allen. And
cauſe he did not put off his hat to them, Allen
a paſſion ſtruck it off his head. They afterwards
t for him, and committed him to priſon. Next
y, they ſent for him, and told him, if he would
y the jailer's fees and promiſe to go out of the
wn that night, he ſhould have his liberty: but he
would

would promiſe nothing. Wherefore, to cover their unlawful procedure, they tendered him the oath of abjuration, and his refuſal furniſhed them with a pretence for his recommitment to priſon, where he lay ſix months.

After about fifteen years ſpent in ſuffering for thoſe doctrines, he had received as truth, he was taken ill in London, and a ſhort time before his departure, gave the following evidence of his full aſſurance of faith, and exhortation to his friends with affecting energy and ſtrength of ſpirit, as if he were in full health: "Friends, God hath been mightily with me, and ſupported me at this time, and his preſence and power have encompaſſed me all along; God hath appeared for the owning of my teſtimony.—I am filled with his love more than I am able to expreſs.—God hath really appeared for us.—Therefore I beſeech you, friends, here in the city of London, whether I live or die, be you faithful to the teſtimony which God hath committed to you."

In Berkſhire, Armourer continued his arbitrary proceedings through this year, while perſecution ſubſided in a great meaſure in moſt other parts. Coming with his man to the meeting, the man looking in at the door and going out again, pulled the door after him, which having a ſpring lock ſhut

* The Earl of Clarendon, prime miniſter to King Charles and reputed to have been a principal promoter of the ſeveri hitherto inflicted on the diſſenters, and contriver of the pe laws, about this time loſt his influence, and became himſelf o noxious: this gave the diſſenters encouragement to hope more eaſe, which they enjoyed for a ſeaſon: and perhaps it may not be unworthy of remark, that with what meaſure he had meted, it was meaſured out to him again: for he, who had been inſtrumental to the impriſoning and baniſhment of num bers of innocent perſons for no cauſe, or on trivial grounds was himſelf at laſt condemned to baniſhment on ſimilar accu tions.

the

em out. His maſter finding the door faſt, called
r a ſledge to break it, but one within opening it,
manifeſted the violence of his temper by ſaying,
it had not been opened for him, he would have
oken it open. He ſent nine of the perſons aſſem-
d to priſon; one of them, Mary Coale, (whoſe
ſband was under ſentence of premunire,) he
mmitted for ſix months; three women were
mmitted on the third offence in order to baniſh-
nt.

At the ſucceeding aſſizes at Abingdon, they were
igned, and pleaded not guilty, but their trial
poſtponed. Henry Adams on a like indictment
tried, but no record of his firſt or ſecond of-
ce could be produced, nor did any witneſs ap-
r to prove a third offence, ſo that the jury brought
in, *not guilty*. This verdict being diſpleaſing
he court, the jury were ſent back, and by Ar-
rer's influence and menaces, who ſwore that
records, though loſt, were true, ſome of the jury
ght in a contrary verdict, which the reſt, through
did not oppoſe. Upon which the priſoner was
nded to jail; but no ſentence pronounced
nſt him in court. He continued in priſon five
s, till releaſed with others in 1672.

hough the Quakers were in 1668 leſs diſturbed
e government than in the foregoing years, yet
met with ſome trouble from another quarter:
s ſoon as the ſuſpenſion of perſecution encou-
other diſſenters to officiate publicly, they
very invective againſt the Quakers. Two
ns, hearers of Thomas Vincent, a Preſbyterian
her, going to the Quakers meetings, to ſee for
ſelves, whether they were ſo erroneous as they
been repreſented to be, were convinced, and
their ſociety. This ſo irritated Vincent, that
dulged his paſſion in a licence of expreſſion,

not

not only beyond the bounds of Chriſtian moderation, but of common decency.

Theſe railing accuſations coming to the ears of ſome of the people at whom they were caſt, they demanded of him a public meeting, to vindicate themſelves from theſe aſperſions, or give him an opportunity to prove them, if he were able; to which after ſome demur, he agreed; but took care to have the houſe filled, before the hour appointed with his own partiſans.

George Whitehead and William Penn attended this meeting, to hear what erroneous doctrines Vincent would charge the Quakers with, and what proofs he could bring; but inſtead thereof he took upon him the office of a catechiſt, opening the conference with this queſtion, "Whether they own one Godhead, in three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons?" On which ſubject framing an inconclusive and unintelligible ſyllogiſm, after the manner of argumentation then in uſe, George Whitehead rejected his terms as not to be found in ſcripture, nor deducible from the text he inſtanced; wherefore he deſired him to explain the terms ſo that they might be underſtood, inaſmuch as God did not uſe to wrap his truths in heatheniſh metaphyſics, but deliver them in plain language; but they would neither keep to ſcripture terms, nor allow them to their antagoniſts; and after much inſulting language, Vincent deſired the people to withdraw, giving them an example by retreating himſelf, with three priests his coadjutors.

They applied to Thomas Vincent for another opportunity, but he evaded it. Wherefore William Penn appealed to the public in a little piece, entitled, "The ſandy Foundation ſhaken," which gave offence to ſome powerful eccleſiaſtics, who preſently applied to their accuſtomed method of redreſs, what they call error, viz. for an order for impri-

him; and he was committed to the Tower of ndon. There he was under cloſe confinement, even denied the viſits of his friends; but yet enemies attained not their purpoſe. For when ſervant brought him word, that the biſhop of ndon was reſolved he ſhould either publicly re- t, or die a priſoner, he ſignified his reſolution that his priſon ſhould be his grave, before he ld yield in violation of conſcience.

Precluded from the opportunity of promoting pi- by his miniſterial labours, he applied himſelf to mote it by writing. Several treatiſes were the ts of his ſolitude, particularly that excellent one, tled, "No Croſs no Crown."

And in order to clear himſelf from the aſperſions upon him in relation to the doctrine of the Tri- , &c. he publiſhed a piece called "Innocency her open Face," by way of apology for "The y Foundation ſhaken," in which he ſo ſucceſſ- vindicated himſelf, that ſoon after he was re- d from his impriſonment, which had been of n months continuance.

The latter part of this year and beginning of the , three eminent and ſerviceable members of ſociety died, viz. Thomas Loe, Joſiah Coale, Francis Howgill. With the abilities and qua- tions of Thomas Loe, the reader hath been y made acquainted at his firſt introduction into work. He viſited Ireland ſeveral times, travel- in divers parts of England, and was ſeveral impriſoned for his teſtimony. By his travels labours his natural ſtrength was impaired, and ng to London this year, (1668,) he was there d with that diſeaſe, which terminated his la- and his exiſtence in the body.

His pious end was agreeable to the tenor of his having, in the time of health, ſteadily purſued good part which ſhould never be taken from

him, he felt the conſolation thereof in his bod weakneſs. At which time being viſited by W liam Penn, for whom he cheriſhed the beſt deſi to the laſt, he addreſſed to him the following exho ation: "Bear thy croſs, and ſtand faithful to G then he will give thee an everlaſting crown of g ry that ſhall not be taken from thee. There is other way which ſhall proſper than that which holy men of old walked in. God hath brought mortality to light, and life immortal is felt. H love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his na for evermore." This dying teſtimony of his noured friend muſt have been a comfortable confirming evidence to William Penn of the ſoli ty of that religion, of which he had been effectu convinced by him. At another time Thomas L ſaid to his friends that ſtood by his bed-ſide, " not troubled, the love of God overcomes my he The Lord is good to me, this day he hath cove me with his glory, I am weak but am refreſhed ſee you." Another friend aſking him how he w he anſwered, "I am near leaving you, I think, am as well in my ſpirit as I can deſire; I bleſs Lord; I never ſaw more of the glory of God t I have done this day." Thus rejoicing in h till his end; his parting breath expreſſed a ſong praiſe to that Almighty Being, whoſe goodneſs ſerved him through life, and deſerted him not in end.

Joſiah Coale was born at Winterbourn, Glou terſhire, and was one amongſt the great numbe thoſe convinced by the miniſtry of John Aud about the year 1655.

To him, with his brethren, it was given not to believe in the truth, but to ſuffer for it. He hardly diſtinguiſhed as a member of this ſociety, fore he was impriſoned in 1656 in Newgate, in B tol, with Thomas Robertſon, for bearing teſtim

o the truth in one of the public places of worſhip, aving been firſt abuſed by the populace, and drag- ed bareheaded under the ſpouts in a time of rain. n the ſame year at Melcomb Regis, in Dorſetſhire, oſiah with three other Friends, for exhorting the eople to piety, (after being violently beaten by em,) were by the mayor committed to priſon.

In the year 1658, believing it his duty to pay a ligious viſit to the Engliſh Colonies in America, d not being able to procure a paſſage to New Eng- nd, (no maſter of a ſhip being willing to take m, for fear of the penalties enacted in that ſtate ainſt ſuch of them as ſhould bring in any Qua- rs,) he, in company with Thomas Thirſton, got paſſage to Virginia, whence they made their way foot through a tract of wilderneſs of ſeveral hun- ed miles, till then deemed impaſſable for any but native Indians. By the Indians (of the Suſque- na Tribe) theſe ſtrangers were not only entertain- with the beſt lodging and proviſions which they d, but provided with guides to conduct them to Dutch plantations, from which they proceeded New England. Yet the journey through that cultivated wilderneſs, was attended with much rdſhip; for they had not only to encounter with winter ſeaſon, but were often in danger of being oured by wild beaſts, or periſhing in marſhes bogs. So that even their adverſaries admired at ir preſervation, in which more than human power manifeſted.

n New England he partook of the treatment uſu- given to his friends in that juriſdiction. Be- in company with John Copeland, in a Friend's ſe at Sandwich, they were both ſeized there, d out in a violent manner, and ſent to priſon. was ſome time after baniſhed from Maryland. travelled alſo through Maryland and Barbadoes; in Europe through moſt parts of England, and

in Holland and the Low Countries, in the work of the miniſtry.

To this ſervice he devoted the prime of his life and ſtrength, and continued unmarried, that, being diſengaged from worldly cares, he might be more at liberty to attend to his miniſtry. Diſintereſted in his endeavours to promote pure religion, he was careful not to make the goſpel chargeable; but having an eſtate of his own, he freely ſpent it in the beſt ſervice: and not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home.

His natural temper was cheerful; but religion tempering it with ſerioufneſs, and his unaffected affability and exemplary demeanour, illuſtrating the purity of his religion, was an ornament to his profeſſion, and a confirmation in the truth to those whom his miniſtry had converted.

Having by hardſhips in his travels, impriſonments, and zealous ſervices for the ſpace of twelve years, waſted his natural ſtrength, he finiſhed a uſeful and virtuous life, at a middle age, by a gradual decline.

During his illneſs George Fox viſiting him, inquired "Whether any thing lay on his mind to the Friends in England?" But he ſignified, that having diſcharged his duty fully in his travels among them, he had nothing on his mind to write. George, after praying by him, ſeeing him grow heavy, adviſed him to lie down, which he did; but being more uneaſy in this poſture, he ſoon roſe again with the help of his friends, and ſitting on the ſide of the bed, with an affecting power he addreſſed his friends ſitting by with the following exhortation; "Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a ſingle eye to his glory, and ſeek nothing for yourſelves or your own glory: and if any thing of that appear judge it down by the power of the Lord God,

you may ſtand approved in his ſight, and anſwer witneſs in all people; then will you have the ward of life. For my part I have thus far finiſhed teſtimony, and have peace with the Lord: his ajeſty is with me, and his crown of life is upon . So mind my love to all my friends." He ſaid Stephen Criſp, "Dear heart, keep low in the ly ſeed of God, and that will be thy crown for er." A little afterwards fainting, and being ſup-rted by his friends, he departed in their arms, as e falling into an eaſy ſleep, at the age of thirty-e years and two months.

As Francis Howgill was one of the principal per-ns amongſt the firſt promulgators of the doctrines this ſociety, his qualifications, his virtues, his ſer-ces, and his ſufferings, have been in various in-nces laid before the reader. We left him con-ed in priſon under ſentence of premunire, from ich he was only releaſed by death. He lay near e years under this ſentence, deprived of every mfort and convenience in the power of his per-cutors to take from him.

This valuable member of ſociety was a native of eſtmoreland, educated in the profeſſion of the eſ-liſhed religion, and trained up at the Univerſity, order to be ordained to the prieſt's office; but ing ſcrupulous of complying with the ceremonies ereof, he withdrew from that communion, joined ſociety with the Independents, and became a eacher of eminence among them, being in eſteem leſs for his exemplary converſation, than for a alous diſcharge of his duty as a miniſter. Yet ll he found not that ſatisfaction which he deſired. he prevailing opinion that Chriſt had taken the ilt of ſin upon himſelf, he was afraid to repoſe dependence upon, remembering, "His ſervant ou art, whom thou obeyeſt." Increaſing in un-rſtanding, it was revealed in him, that the Lord

would teach the people himſelf, and the time approached nigh. It was not long before George Fox had that remarkable meeting at Firbank Chapel, where Francis officiated, and hearing him aſſert that, "the light of Chriſt in man ſhews the way to Chriſt," he was deeply affected thereby, believing it to be truth. He now forſook the Independents, joined himſelf to the perſecuted ſociety of the Quakers, and in ſilence and patient reſignation, bearing the adminiſtration of condemnation for ſin, until he was favoured to experience a happy tranſition to the diſpenſation of juſtification in righteouſneſs, and fitted for the reception of a gift in the miniſtry. But upon his public appearance as a miniſter among this people, both the prieſts and magiſtrates, his former friends and admirers, became his enemies; he was confined by their means in Appleby priſon, and detained there for ſome time without any legal cauſe. After his releaſe, he proſecuted his ſervice in the miniſtry with diligence, travelling about moſtly on foot. He and Edward Burrough were almoſt conſtant companions.

In 1661, being in London, he ſuffered impriſonment amongſt his friends taken up in conſequence of the inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men. And after he was ſet at liberty, continued his labours and travels as before, till 1663, when he was ſummoned to appear before the magiſtrates at Kendal, as before related, and in conſequence premunired and impriſoned for life. On the 20th of 11mo. called January, 1668–9, he finiſhed his courſe, in the priſon at Appleby, after a ſickneſs of nine days.

Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, viſited him in his ſickneſs, and ſome of them praying that God might ſpeak peace to his ſoul, he anſwered, "He hath done it." A few hours before he departed, ſome

Friend

iends from other places being come to viſit him, inquired after their welfare, and prayed fervent- "That the Lord by his mighty power might eſerve them out of all ſuch things as might ſpot d defile." His voice then failed, yet recovering ain, he ſaid, "I have ſought the way of the Lord m a child, and lived innocently as among men; d if any inquire concerning my latter end, let em know that I die in the faith in which I lived d ſuffered for." After theſe words, he uttered ne others in prayer, and ſo finiſhed his life in rfect peace in the fiftieth year of his age.

The Friends appear to have been but little diſ- bed by the civil power through this year, in mpariſon of the former, their ſufferings being ſtly by excommunications, impriſonments, and raints, for their ſcruple againſt paying eccleſiaſ- l demands, ſeveral of which, however, were un- ſonably ſevere.*

n the ſpring of this year, George Fox, travelling the northern counties, received intelligence, en he came into Lancaſhire, that Colonel Kirby threatened, that if he came into thoſe parts he uld caſt him into priſon; but at the time of his ning, Kirby being confined by the gout, he eſ- ed out of his hands, continued his journey to erpool, and embarked from thence with John bbs and Thomas Briggs for Ireland, ſpent ſome e in viſiting Friends in that nation, and ſoon af- his return, married Margaret Fell.

WALES.

THE number of this people being conſiderably reaſed in Wales, they were expoſed to the like

* See Beſſe's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 7, p. 202, &c.

ſeverities with Friends in England, even before the inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men had furniſhed a palliative for violating the King's promiſe of protection to tender conſciences.

In Merionethſhire, in the month called Auguſt, 1660, about fourteen Friends being met for religious worſhip, were aſſaulted by Alban Vaughan, and ſeveral rude perſons armed with ſwords, who haled them out of the meeting, and threatened to carry them to Carmarthen Caſtle, twenty-ſix miles off; but after they had driven them about two miles, frequently ſtriking them with their ſwords, they left them. A few days after the ſame body on horſeback came to the dwelling houſes of thoſe they had thus abuſed, and haled them out by violence, ſome out of their beds, wounding, beating, and bruiſing ſeveral; and drove them on foot before their horſes twenty miles to Bala. Four of them were required to take the oath of allegiance, and for refuſing it, were committed to the jailer's cuſtody, who put them in irons, and cauſed them to go fettered twelve miles to priſon, where he kept them, with others of their friends, above twenty in all, about fifteen or ſixteen weeks, not ſuffering any to carry them food or other neceſſaries, taking away their Bibles, inkhorns, knives, and money, and daily inſulting and abuſing them.

Nor was the abuſe and impriſonment of their perſons a ſufficient gratification of the malignity or avarice of their perſecutors; exorbitant depredation was added to perſonal injury: for ſeveral perſons, during their impriſonment, had their cattle ſeized in great numbers, about ſix hundred and fifty head in all, which were driven to Bala, there ſold, and the amount diſpoſed of at pleaſure, without rendering any account thereof to the owners!

They continued to be harraſſed in like manner in different parts of this principality; their meetings

ings being broken up by ſoldiers, who generally took the men to ſome juſtice, to tender them the oaths, and for their refuſal drove them in crowds to priſon, until the inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men broke out, upon which the Friends in Wales ſuffered equally with their brethren in the different parts of England. Francis Winſon was taken out of his own houſe by ſoldiers, kept two days under guard, and ſixteen days at the marſhal's houſe, where he was hardly uſed; after which he was brought before the commiſſioners, who tendered him the oath, and ſent him to priſon, where he was ſhut up in a dungeon. He was a poor labouring man, had a wife and five ſmall children, whoſe ſubſiſtence depending upon his labour, they ſuffered much hardſhip by reaſon of his confinement.

On the 31ſt of the month called January, Walter Jenkins, John Williams, Philip Williams, and Charles Jenkins, were forcibly taken out of their beds, their doors being broken open by a party of horſe, ſeveral of whoſe officers were papiſts. They broke open their trunks under pretence of ſearching for arms, and though they diſcovered none, they drove theſe inoffenſive men ſeveral miles, through mire and dirt, to an old caſtle, where they were detained until the next morning, when the captain of the troop came, and ordered a party to conduct them to Monmouth, who drove them thither moſt inhumanly along the dirty road, not ſuffering them to walk on the foot-way. The mayor of Monmouth committed them to priſon for refuſing to ſwear, where they were confined in a place offenſive by its filthineſs to an extraordinary degree. Hither William John, who was taken from his buſineſs in the field, was ſent to bear them company, where being confined together, ſeveral of them fell ſick, through the unwholeſome air of their priſon, upon which the jailer removed them to his own houſe.

Such was the bitterneſs of the perſecutors, that the mere name of Quaker expoſed thoſe that bore it to the loſs of liberty, and in conſequence of theſe orders, forty perſons were ſent to priſon at Cardiff.

At Shrewſbury the number of priſoners being alſo large, many Friends came to viſit and aſſiſt them. As ſoon as the ſoldiers who kept guard at the priſon diſcovered any of theſe, they immediately apprehended them, and carried them to the mayor, who tendered them the oath, and ſent them to priſon. One of them, Elizabeth Holme, only for this office of affection and duty, had her horſe ſeized, and herſelf detained in priſon with her huſband.

SCOTLAND.

IN 1659, Stephen Criſp travelled into Scotland, o preach the goſpel there, and ſome time after William Dewſbury followed him; the teſtimony of theſe faithful witneſſes reached the conſciences of many who heard them, and amongſt theſe ſome noted profeſſors in Aberdeen, particularly Alexander Jaffray, who had been chief magiſtrate of that city, a man in repute amongſt the higheſt profeſſors of religion, and Margaret Molleſon, wife of Gilbert Molleſon, a magiſtrate of Aberdeen, a woman of diſtinguiſhed good character.

Alexander Jaffray, ſoon after his convincement, removed to Inverary, and was inſtrumental to ſettle a meeting there: by means whereof, ſeveral having the opportunity of hearing the doctrines of this people, were convinced: of theſe were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robinſon. After ſome time James Urquhart fell under

der the cenſure of the preſbytery, and was excommunicated; the excommunication was ſent to William Forbes, prieſt of the place of Urquhart's reſidence, with an injunction from the preſbytery for him to publiſh it from the pulpit. To complying with this injunction he felt great reluctance, from a conviction of the integrity of the perſon he was enjoined to read the ſentence againſt; but under the proſpect of the probable loſs of his ſtipend, in caſe of his diſobeying the preſbytery, he publicly pronounced the ſentence againſt him, in direct oppoſition to the dictates of his conſcience. He afterwards fell under great uneaſineſs, which diſcompoſed him to ſo great a degree, that for ſome time he was diſqualified from performing the offices of his function, until at length he made this ingenuous confeſſion: "That his diſcompoſure was a juſt judgment upon him, for curſing with his tongue a perſon whom he believed in his own conſcience to be a very honeſt man." But notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his convictions at that time, he afterwards fell into the like error in a caſe more nearly affecting him; his own daughter, Jane Forbes, was convinced of the principles of Friends: proceedings were carried on againſt her to an excommunication, which her father was required by the preſbytery to pronounce. It is eaſy to imagine in how diſtreſſing an alternative he muſt be hereby involved, under the proſpect of either wounding his conſcience and parental feelings, or be ejected from his living for diſobeying the preſbytery. The anxious conflict between conſcience and ſelf-intereſt was too oppreſſive for nature to ſupport; he determined to read the excommunication, but was ſuddenly ſtruck with death, at the very time he purpoſed to do it.

About the ſame time with James Urquhart before mentioned, George Gray and Agnes Simon were

convinced, two perſons ſo highly thought of, that the prieſt of the pariſh whereto they belonged made it his boaſt, that he had a weaver and a poor woman whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equal, either in knowledge or a good life.

Agnes Simon, after her convincement, opened her houſe for the keeping of religious meetings, and the neighbouring people flocked there in ſuch numbers, that her houſe could not contain them, wherefore they met in the open field, where Patrick Livingſtone was made inſtrumental, with ſome others, to the convincement of many in thoſe parts. This convincement drawing away many of their hearers, alarmed the prieſts of Aberdeen, viz. George Meldrum and John Menzies, and others, who in conſequence thereof exerted their endeavours to prevent the progreſs of this people, by aſperſing them from the pulpit, in order to incenſe the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs them. Their efforts to excite the magiſtrates againſt them met not with the wiſhed-for ſucceſs; attempts being, in ſeveral inſtances, fruſtrated. But with the populace, their ſlanders had more influence, for it frequently happened that as ſoon as any of this perſuaſion appeared in their ſtreets, a mob gathered about them, ſtoning, beating and abuſing them as they paſſed along.

Being leſs ſucceſsful with the ſecular power than they deſired, inimical as their principles were to the power and office of biſhops, theſe prieſts, to compaſs their aim, made no ſcruple to excite the biſhop of Aberdeen, and by his means Archbiſhop Sharp, to exert their power againſt the Quakers. Andrew Jaffray, a man of blameleſs life, and of good eſteem, at their ſuggeſtion was ſummoned to appear before the high commiſſion court, where he was enabled to bear a faithful teſtimony to the truth; and although the archbiſhop himſelf entered into a conference with him, he could gain no advantage in argument againſt

againſt him; yet to ſatisfy the prieſts, the court paſſed ſentence upon him, "That he ſhould be confined to his own dwelling houſe, and keep no meetings therein, nor go any whither without the biſhop's licenſe, under the penalty of a fine of 600 marks," which they eſteemed to be one fourth of his yearly rents. By the like means, at the ſuggeſtion of James Gordon, prieſt of Alford, to the biſhop of Aberdeen, Alexander Forbes of Archinhamper, and Alexander Gelly, were apprehended, carried away to Edinburgh, and impriſoned in the Cannongate tolbooth ſome time.

By theſe rigorous proceedings the prieſts did not attain their deſire, others from time to time fell off from them, and joined the Quakers by convincement, and amongſt them David Barclay of Ury, adopted their profeſſion, and ſteadfaſtly continued therein the remainder of his days. His ſon Robert was alſo convinced as before remarked. As was about the ſame time Lilias Skein, wife of Alexander Skein, one of the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, a woman much eſteemed for her religious accompliſhments, and in a particular manner by Geo. Meldrum their prieſt. She was convinced or confirmed in her convincement by a very remarkable circumſtance. She was actuated by an earneſt deſire to find out the way of truth, but diſcouraged from looking towards this ſociety by prepoſſeſſions induſtriouſly inſtilled into her mind by the prieſts againſt that people, that "they denied the ſcriptures, and did not pray in the name of Jeſus, of whom the ſcriptures teſtify." But being viſited with indiſpoſition, ſhe kept her chamber in an apartment under the ſame roof with Barbara Forbes, one of that ſociety, at whoſe dwelling the Quakers ſometimes met, ſo near Lilias's apartments that ſhe could diſtinctly hear what paſſed: here, attentively liſtening, ſhe heard two Engliſhwomen exerciſed both

both in preaching and praying, whoſe teſtimonies ſhe obſerved to be replete with ſcripture expreſſions, and their prayers put up in the name of Jeſus, and attended with life and power. From this demonſtrative confutation of the calumniating accuſations of theſe prieſts, ſhe was freed from their prepoſſeſſions, withdrew from their communion, and joined in ſociety with that people. Not long after her huſband, who had been a zealous oppoſer of them, became a ſincere convert to their principles.

IRELAND.

ROBERT TURNER* having about the year 1657 been inſtrumental to the convincement of ſome perſons who reſided about Grange near Charlemont, and by means of the labours of other Friends, who travelled in the exerciſe of their miniſterial gifts, their numbers increaſing, a meeting was ſettled there this year, which continues a large meeting at the preſent time.

Upon the riſing of the Fifth-monarchy-men, the Quakers in this nation ſhared deeply in the like ſeverities with their brethren in England: ſo that before the end of the year there was a general impriſonment of them through the kingdom†; but neither the governors nor inferior magiſtrates in general ſeem to have been influenced againſt them to an equal degree of animoſity with thoſe in England. W. Edmundſon, being then a priſoner, obtained liberty for about twenty days from the ſheriff, whereupon he went to Dublin, and ſolicited

* Rutty.

† See William Edmundſon's Journal.

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the earls of Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Euſtace, juſtices, to ſet his friends at liberty, who were impriſoned in different parts of the nation, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to obtain an order for their releaſe. Copies of the order being procured and ſigned by the juſtices, were forwarded to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, where any of his friends were priſoners.

Soon after he viſited the meetings of his friends through the nation, and it appeared that the ſheriffs had generally complied with the order. In about ſix weeks he returned home; but found his friends in the Queen's county ſtill detained in priſon for their fees. This occaſioned him another journey to Dublin, taking with him a certificate which was ſigned by three of the juſtices preſent, who did not approve of the ſheriff's conduct.

He then renewed his application to the juſtices, and through the favour of the Earl of Mountrath (who, as well as his ſon after him, entertained a perſonal regard for W. Edmundſon, and a benevolent diſpoſition towards Friends in general) he readily procured an order* to the ſheriff to ſet Friends at liberty without paying fees to any perſon.

Yet there were ſome magiſtrates whoſe treatment of this people reſembled the ſeverity of thoſe in England, particularly in this year Judge Alexander, who cauſed Henry Roſe, Thomas Shannon, and nine others, who had been apprehended at a meeting and committed to priſon at Carlow by John Maſters, Portrieve, without examination or mittimus in

* The good effect of this order, and the benevolent diſpoſition of many magiſtrates, is farther evinced by the teſtimony of Edward Cooke, in a letter from Dublin, 1660, in which he writes, "Friends are generally well, and none in priſon but in Cork, where we expect ſhortly to be releaſed; the juſtices are very ready to help us at their ſeſſions, ſo that at preſent we have no juſt cauſe to appeal any where elſe."

writing,

writing, and had been indicted at the quarter ſeſſions, and by the jury found "Not guilty," to be again indicted at the aſſizes, and being found guilty of meeting, he fined them 320l.

At Cork he fined Alexr. Atkins, Philip Dymond, Thomas Cooke, and ſeveral other priſoners, 1190l. on the ſame account. And at Waterford, upon William Blanch, William Wright and eight others, he impoſed a fine of 580l. And at Limerick ſundry Friends being priſoners for the ſame cauſe of ſimply meeting together, he fined them 40l. each, and remanded them to priſon, where they continued four months, till releaſed by an order from the lords juſtices.

In 1665, they were alſo here, as well as in England, liable to ſufferings and ſpoil of goods from ſelf-intereſted eccleſiaſticks, who by themſelves or agents frequently took diſtreſſes from them manifold their demands. Many were impriſoned, and long continued in priſon on writs of excommunication, to which ſome of the clergy endeavoured to give the force of an outlawry. George Clapham, prieſt of Mountmellick in the Queen's county, having procured the excommunication of William Edmundſon, and ſeveral others, endeavoured to deter the millers from grinding their corn for the uſe of their families, or any to ſpeak or trade with them*: he watched the markets and the Quakers ſhops, and to thoſe he knew to deal with them, he would ſend an apparitor to ſummon them to the biſhop's court, the apprehenſion whereof generally terrified them into a pecuniary compoſition both with the prieſt and apparitor, to get free from the effects of a proſecution in this dreaded court.

Ireland at this time was governed by men of moderation. The primate Boyle, who was alſo chancel-

* William Edmundſon's Journal.

lor,

lor, appears to have been a diſcreet and judicious governor, who knew how to diſtinguiſh between real and imputed diſloyalty; between the adminiſtration of legal and arbitrary rule; and to eſtabliſh the authority of the governor in the juſtice and humanity of the man. W. Edmundſon drew up a narrative of Clapham's groſs proceedings, and got it atteſted by the ſignature of ſeveral of his own people, with which he went to Dublin, and petitioned the government upon the ſubject thereof. The primate, as well as the privy council, before which it was laid, immediately iſſued an order for the prieſt and apparitor to appear before the council. They appeared accordingly, and met with ſevere reproof. The primate ſaid he would make examples of them, and would have had them puniſhed; but W. Edmundſon ſaid, he and his friends wanted nothing more by their application, than a ſtop to be put to ſuch cruelty, in order that they might live peaceably. The primate bade William, if they did not deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, only write to him, and "he would make them examples to the nation." So William forgave them, and let the matter drop.

Clapham being incenſed againſt W. Edmundſon, for bringing him under the cenſure of his ſuperiors, continued to be vexatious to him and his friends, as far as in his power. Having procured a neighbour's horſe and car, he came to William's houſe, loaded and carried away a conſiderable quantity of cheeſe from him, and much goods, corn, and even wearing apparel from other Friends of the meeting, to which he belonged, for church rates; and not ſatisfied herewith, he, being a juſtice of peace, ſent a conſtable to apprehend W. Edmundſon (from a meeting at Mountmelick) and made a mittimus to ſend him to Maryborough jail; but the earl of Mountrath ſuperſeded his warrant, and ſet William at liberty till the enſuing aſſizes, at which the earl

patronizing

patronizing his cauſe, and four lawyers pleading for him unfeed, the indictments were quaſhed.

Notwithſtanding theſe repeated diſappointments, he continued by various efforts to bring both W. Edmundſon and ſeveral others into trouble. William went again to Dublin, and preſented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant and Council: himſelf and another friend were admitted into the council-chamber, and after a patient and candid hearing, the council gave judgment that the proceedings againſt them were illegal. The Lord Lieutenant being deſirous to be informed why they did not pay tithes to the miniſters, W. Edmundſon informed him from the Scriptures, that "the law was ended that gave tithes, and the prieſthood ended that received them, by the coming and ſuffering of Chriſt, who had ſettled a miniſtry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance." He then inquired what maintenance the miniſters muſt have? and William replied, Chriſt's allowance, pointing out from the Scriptures what that was. There were three biſhops preſent, but none of them made any objection in reply. The Lord Lieutenant, in concluſion, bid "God bleſs them;" adding that "they ſhould not ſuffer for not going to the public worſhip, nor for going to their own meetings." This favourable diſpoſition of the chief ruler awed the prieſt into quietneſs, and occaſioned a public opinion that the Quakers had received a toleration of their religion, which was productive of much eaſe to the members of this ſociety.

But in 1667 perſecution grew hot in Cork, through the intemperate rancour of Chriſtopher Rye, mayor of that city, to the members of this ſociety, who impriſoned them in great numbers, only for keeping up their religious meetings, and cauſed their impriſonment to be particularly ſevere; and amongſt other reſpectable inhabitants of the city, Richard

Richard Pike, who loſt his life by cold and diſtemper, contracted in the jail; and W. Penn, lately convinced there, as before related, who, during his reſidence in theſe parts, having contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, wrote to the Earl of Orrery, Lord Preſident of Munſter, acquainting him with the cauſe and manner of their impriſonment, and ſoliciting him to interpoſe his authority for reſtoring them to their liberty, which requeſt, ſo far as related to himſelf, was readily granted, the earl immediately ordering his diſcharge*.

In the forepart of the year 1669, G. Fox landing in that nation in company with Robert Lodge and ſome other friends, ſeconded his epiſtolary advice, by his preſence and perſonal aſſiſtance in ſettling men's and women's meetings for diſcipline.

By which eſtabliſhment the ſociety in that nation as well as in England) became a compact body, united in a benevolent concern for the mutual help and edification one of another, and of the body in general.

ISLE OF MAN.

UNDER the arbitrary governor (then Earl of Derby) and the uncontrolled power of a rigid prelate†, perſecution was continued with additional ſeverity (after the reſtoration) againſt the few reſidents in this iſland, who went under the denomination of Quakers.

William Callow and Evan Chriſten, the former

* Rutty. † Biſhop of Sodor and Man.

for

for refuſing to pay ſixteen-pence, and the latter two-pence, demanded by a prieſt "for bread and wine for the ſacrament," were committed to Caſtle-Peel, and ſhut up in a diſmal dungeon without fire or candle, having only ſtraw to lie upon, and a ſtone for their pillow. Here they lay ſixteen days, until ſome neighbours in compaſſion, unknown to them, paid the money. Several times were they and others impriſoned this year, one for fifteen weeks in the winter for being at a meeting. After a month's impriſonment, W. Callow appealing to the Earl of Derby, obtained permiſſion to go to London, where at length he procured a warrant for the diſcharge of himſelf and the reſt.

They were impriſoned again the ſucceeding year, together with Evans's father, eighty years of age; and the following year, 1664, every woman* of this profeſſion was arreſted by virtue of an order from the biſhop; they being, he ſaid, excommunicated, of which they had not the leaſt intelligence, before he now declared it to them.

The priſon allotted them was the ſame gloomy dungeon in which the men were confined, hither when the apparitor had brought them, he took off his hat, and formally pronounced what he called the biſhop's curſe†.

* Theſe were, the wife of ſaid William Callow, (who being juſt recovering out of a fever, and unable either to walk or ride, was ſuffered to ſtay at home for the preſent) Jane Chriſten, Jane Kennell, Anne Chriſten, Mary Callow and Mary Chriſten; one of whom was ſeventy-four, and another ſixty-ſeven years of age, a third a poor ſerving man's wife, who had three children, the youngeſt at her breaſt; the fourth, the wife of one not called a Quaker, had a large family and many children, and the fifth a ſervant of William Callow, who was forcibly taken from her ſick miſtreſs.

† "I do here before the ſtanders-by deliver you up into St Germain's priſon, by the law of my lord the biſhop and his clergy

In the month called June, 1665, Henry Nowell, deputy-governor, came to the caſtle, and read to the priſoners an order from the earl, that "they muſt be forthwith tranſported to ſome other land." And near the end of the month two prieſts came to them, and informed them they were come by the deputy-governor's order, to admoniſh them to come to church, otherwiſe they muſt be baniſhed forthwith.

On the 5th September the commander of the caſtle received an order to ſend all the Quakers priſoners to Douglas, which was done on the 7th; and there they were kept under a guard until the 14th, when they were put on board a ſhip of which Thos. Brittain was maſter; but as the priſoners entered at one ſide of the ſhip, the ſeamen went out at the other into the boat, telling the maſter they were not hired to carry people out of their native country againſt their will, and that they would not go with him if he carried them; and went on ſhore. The maſter, unable to proceed on his voyage without them, ſet the priſoners on ſhore, when the ſailors returned, and the ſhip ſet ſail.

About three days after ſeveral veſſels came into the road; but all refuſed to carry the priſoners. The ſoldiers endeavoured to force them on board the ſhip of Anthony Nicholſon, of Whitehaven; but he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, inſiſting that he would carry no priſoners, except they would ſend a guard of ſoldiers, and money to maintain both the priſoners and them, and alſo ſignify in writing the crime laid to their charge. However, on the 18th, about midnight, Wm. Callow, Evan Chriſten, Jane Chriſten and Mary Callow, were hurried out of their beds with ſuch precipitancy, that they were

clergy, you being caſt out of the church by excommunication, and I do take witneſs that I do deliver you over from the power of the biſhop and his law, to be and continue the Earl of Derby's priſoners."

not

not allowed time to put on their clothes, but ob-
liged to leave ſome of them behind; two of them
were forcibly put on board Nicholſon's ſhip, and
the other two on board William Croſsthwaite's
againſt the will of the maſters. They ſailed to Dub-
lin, where neither the ſeamen nor priſoners were
ſuffered to land, until Croſsthwaite was examined
by the mayor, who demanded his warrant for bring-
ing the priſoners without their conſent; to which he
anſwered, that he had no warrant, but was compelled
to take them on board by one Quail, an officer, who
took away his ſails, and would not let him put off
without the priſoners, and his veſſel was in danger
of breaking. Upon which the mayor gave him an
order. Purſuant to which he carried them back,
but either being, or pretending to be, driven from
the iſland by contrary winds, he carried them to
Whitehaven, and there put them on ſhore; but John
Lamplugh, a juſtice of peace, iſſued his warrant to
the conſtables of Whitehaven to cauſe them to be
put on board Croſsthwaite's ſhip, to be carried back
to the iſle, as no legal proceedings appeared to au-
thorize him to bring them into that country. On
the 12th December, Croſsthwaite took them on
board again, but inſtead of carrying them to the
iſland, took them again to Dublin, but was not
ſuffered to land them there until he had given ſecu-
rity to convey them to the iſland on his return.
But in violation of his engagement he returned with
them to Whitehaven. Being landed again in Eng-
land, the two men went to the Earl of Derby, and
while they were employed in fruitleſs ſolicitations
to him and the biſhop, for liberty to return to their
lawful occupations, Croſsthwaite carried the two
women back to the iſland, where they were again
ſhut up in priſon.

Theſe two men, after long attendance upon the
Earl of Derby, were by him referred to the biſhop

to whom (after ſome time coming to Knowleſly Hall in Lancaſhire, the ſaid earl's ſeat) they got admittance, and had a long conference with him and the dean, wherein they endeavoured to move him to compaſſionate their caſe, and give an order for their return to their wives and children; but he would by no means admit of their return, and by his influence the earl was alſo hardened againſt them.

After their ineffectual conference, theſe exiles returned into Cumberland; and though they could not obtain permiſſion, the diſtreſſed ſtate of their families, from whom they had been forcibly ſeparated, determined them to return; and accordingly they took ſhipping for the iſland; but before they could get on ſhore, the maſter of the veſſel received orders not to ſuffer them to land; in conſequence whereof they were detained on board until the 1ſt of Sept. when the maſter ſent a petition to the biſhop, requeſting that they might go on ſhore until he was ready to return, and then, if required, he would carry them back to England. To which the biſhop* conſented.

They continued at home about a month, when they were brought to Ramſey, and forced again from wife and relations. W. Callow's wife taking her leave of him with tears, ſo affected the maſter of the ſhip, that he wept too, endeavouring to comfort the poor woman with promiſes of kindneſs to her huſband. Soon after they were ſent off, an attorney, named Qualtrop, took poſſeſſion of their eſtates, by virtue of an order ſigned by the biſhop and others.

Upon their being landed again in England, William

* "I am content that the Quakers be ſecured on ſhore until the return of the veſſel, upon ſecurity given by the owner of the veſſel and the Quakers for their return, upon his departure from the iſland. *ISAAC SODER and MAN.*"

liam Callow went into Lancaſhire, and renewed his application to the earl, for his permiſſion to return home, but with no better ſucceſs than before: wherefore he went to London, and repreſented his caſe to the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, the latter of whom compaſſionated it ſo far, as to intercede by letter in his behalf. But even this ſolicitation proved leſs effectual with the earl, than the biſhop's influence, and for his declining compliance with which he gives the following reaſon: "There is not now in the iſland one Quaker or diſſenting perſon of any perſuaſion from the church of England, and I humbly conceive your highneſs, for that one man's concern, would not have that place endangered to be infected with ſchiſm or hereſy, which it might be liable to, if Quakers were permitted to reſide there."

While W. Callow was occupied in London in ſoliciting for liberty to return home, he received intelligence from his wife, that ſhe, his daughter Anne, her ſiſter Jane Chriſten and Mary Callow had been priſoners in Caſtle-Peel five or ſix weeks; that all their eſtates, real and perſonal, were ſeized; and that ſhe heard the attorney would ſhortly come and take away all their goods; that ſhe and Jane Chriſten being with child, they had applied by letter to the biſhop for leave to return to their houſes until the ſpring, and then return to priſon, they not having wherewith to ſubſiſt during the winter, nor neceſſaries for perſons in their condition, but that the biſhop, deaf to their entreaties, had returned the following ſevere anſwer:

"If upon releaſement they will put in ſecurity to promiſe to come to the ſervice, and conform to the order of the church, and all ſuch as are excommunicated to acknowledge their ſchiſms, and receive abſolution, I ſhall ſo far preſume upon my Lord's favour, as to grant them liberty; otherwiſe I have no

no power to meddle with them, they being my Lord's priſoners; and if they miſcarry in their health or lives, it is wholly imputable to their diſobedience, and they muſt be accounted their own murderers; and this is all I can ſay to them.

Iſaac Soder and Mann."

Upon the receipt of this affecting intelligence, W. Callow determined, if poſſible, to viſit his wife in her diſtreſſed condition, and accordingly returned home, where he was not ſuffered to give her any effectual aſſiſtance; for on his arrival, he was ſent to priſon, by order of the biſhop, where he was detained ſeven days, then put on board a veſſel again, and ſent to England. He then wrote an account of his hard uſage to the Earl of Derby, and waited perſonally upon him with it; but he diſmiſſed him with this rude anſwer, "If he would not conform, he ſhould not return to poiſon his iſland."

In 1668 thoſe four women were impriſoned again and baniſhed with ſuch circumſtances of barbarity as even drew tears from their neighbours, who were commanded to be aſſiſtant in taking them. Two ſoldiers came to W. Callow's houſe, with an order from the biſhop to take his wife to priſon, and they ſaid the order from the biſhop was peremptory to take her and the others to priſon, though they ſhould die by the way. William's wife being very weak in bed, they took her each by an arm, and endeavoured to pull her out of the bed; but her children crying round her, and the neighbours alſo at the ſight of their cruelty, moved them to deſiſt at that time, but they returned the next day and took her, Evan Chriſten's mother, an ancient woman between ſeventy and eighty years of age, Jane Chriſten and Mary Callow, all to Caſtle-Peel. The next day an order came from the biſhop to ſend them back again to Ramſey, where they were detained ſeveral weeks until a veſſel was ready to take them away; when

one Capt. Aſcough, in whoſe cuſtody they were brought them to the boat with their children weeping after them; theſe he cruelly ſeparated, not ſuffering them, though deſirous, to take any but the youngeſt along with them. W. Callow's wife, to her other ſufferings, had to leave four children behind her. Jane Chriſten, in like manner, was forced to leave five. They being forced on board, were landed at Whitehaven. After ſome ſtay there, they together with W. Callow, were ſent back by order of two Cumberland juſtices. The day after their arrival at the iſland they were forcibly taken out of their beds, by order of the deputy-governor, and put on board the ſhip in ſuch hurry, that the women were obliged to take their children naked in their aprons, crying through the ſtreets, in the night. They were then taken to Dublin, whence a ſhip was preſſed to take them back again by order of the mayor. The paſſage was tedious by reaſon of contrary winds, and the women ſuffered much for want of proviſions and neceſſaries, W. Callow's wife being near the time of her delivery. As ſoon as the biſhop and governor were informed of their arrival they ſet a watch upon the veſſel to prevent W. Callow's landing, and the women having been landed before, were ſoon forced again on board by ſoldiers with aggravated circumſtances of inhumanity. The maſter of the ſhip being brought before the governor and the biſhop, repreſented the weak condition of the women, and what they had ſuffered at ſea, and the danger to which they muſt certainly be expoſed by being hurried again on board; but the biſhop, unmoved by the repreſentation, ſent an order to raiſe the pariſh people to put W. Callow's wife on board. The meſſenger informed him that was very weak, and they did not know but in labour. The biſhop, nevertheleſs, renewed his order, and the ſoldiers coming to her bed-ſide, ordered

o go with them, ſwearing that they had orders from the biſhop, if ſhe would not go, to carry her in cart, or acroſs a horſe's back. They took her children out of bed, and ſcarce giving her time to ut on her clothes, hurried her to Ramſey; they ifled her pockets of 4s.; and took away her box of lothes, leaving her neither linen, nor any thing lſe but what ſhe had on; alledging that they ſeized er goods by the biſhop's warrant. Three of the eighbours who refuſed to aſſiſt, were by the biſhop's rder committed to priſon.

The exiles were detained on board an open boat alf decked, and that ſo badly, that when it rained ey could not ſit dry) which landed them at Peel in ancaſhire; upon their landing, two juſtices made order to ſend them back (except A. Callow, who ing in childbed, was left behind). On their arval at Ramſey they were detained priſoners on ip-board from the 8th of Auguſt till the 1ſt of ptember. It ſeems proper to remark that the agiſtrates of Dublin and of the Britiſh ports where ey were landed, appear not to have ſent them ck in any ill-will to them; but rather in teſtiony of abhorrence of the biſhop's proceedings.

Finding that both from England and Ireland the niſhed were continually ſent back with a cenſure the illegality of their proceedings, they determined to tranſport W. Callow to Virginia by a ndon ſhip then at anchor in Ramſey bay. When was put on board, the ſailors refuſed to go the yage, if he was carried with them, ſaying, they er heard of a ſhip which carried Quakers againſt ir will that ever proſpered. Whereupon the ſter, (Ralph Harwood) promiſed them, that he uld carry them no farther than Ireland, and accordingly the next day ſet them on ſhore about 40 es north of Dublin. William went directly to blin, took ſhipping, and landed at Whitehaven;

alſo about the ſame time Evan Chriſten, his aged mother, and Alice Coward, arrived in England from the iſle of Whitehorn in Scotland, whither they had been carried in an open fiſhing-boat, after long confinement on board the veſſel which brought them back out of Lancaſhire.

CHAP. IX.

MEETING-HOUSES IN LONDON SHUT UP.—TRIAL OF WILLIAM PENN AND WILLIAM MEAD FOR A RIOT.—ACQUITTED BY THE JURY.—THE JURY FINED AND IMPRISONED, &c. &c.

THE former act againſt conventicles, upon which ſo many were condemned to baniſhment, being expired, in the next ſeſſion, in 1670, the parliament proceeded to make a third act againſt them; but having found impriſonment and even baniſhment ineffectual to deter the Quakers from keeping up their meetings for worſhip, they ſeemed reſolved to try the force of depredation and impoveriſhing them in their eſtates.

The execution of this act expoſed every body of diſſenters to great hardſhip; but fell with the greateſt weight upon the Quakers.

At London, and in ſeveral other places, many were ſpoiled of their property; people of conſiderable ſubſtance reduced to extreme poverty, ſhop and houſehold goods ſo thoroughly ſwept away by the hard-hearted ſpoilers, that the ſick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themſelves laid upon the floor.

Upon the paſſing of this law, many juſtices, who

were too honeſt to be inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, quitted the bench. And the informers, in general, were men of vile character. Such juſtices as remained active, and their aſſiſtants, were not only prompt to plunder, but dexterous in dividing the ſpoil.

Theſe unprincipled informers being proſecuted by ſome Friends and other diſſenters, divers of whom upon trial were found guilty of perjury, and ſuffered for it; others by the partiality and protection of the magiſtrates, though proved guilty, eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crime*.

* In Buckinghamſhire, two noted informers, Lacy and Aris, ſwore before Juſtice Clayton, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were at a meeting at Jordan's the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1670, whereupon the juſtice fined him 30l. for himſelf, his wife, and a pretended preacher; and iſſued a warrant for diſtreſs. Thomas and his wife were then both at London, wherefore he appealed to the quarter ſeſſions. The juſtice, to ſcreen the informers, telling Thomas he ſuffered juſtly, and he in his own defence anſwering "that the righteous were oppreſſed, and the wicked went unpuniſhed," pretended to interpret theſe words, "as a reflection on the government," and for refuſing ſureties for his appearance at the next ſeſſions, committed him to Ayleſbury jail. This was done to prevent him from proſecuting his appeal; but ſome of his friends, eſpecially Thomas Ellwood, proſecuted it, and at the next ſeſſions produced inconteſtible evidence that T. Zachary and his wife were in London all that day; ſo that notwithſtanding all endeavours to the contrary, the jury found for the appellants; the conviction was ſet aſide, and the money depoſited at entering the appeal ought to have been returned, but they could never get more than 10l. of it, the reſt being detained by the clerk of the peace. But ſo angry was the convicting juſtice, that he perſuaded the reſt to tender T. Zachary the oath of allegiance, for refuſal whereof he was kept in priſon a long time after.

In Somerſetſhire the informers ſwore againſt ſix perſons for being at a meeting at Yeovil, where they had not been at all. Others ſwore Thomas Gully was at a meeting at Gregory-Stoke in ſaid county, when he was ſick in bed, and died ſoon after. They ſwore againſt William Lea the younger, as being at a meeting five weeks after his death.

Nor were they more ſcrupulous in proportioning the diſtraints to the value of the fines impoſed; they did not heſitate to take much more in value than the amount of the fines, while they could find any thing to take, encouraged by the inſtructions and aſſiſtance of juſtices, who frequently gave them directions "to be ſure to take enough," they often ſold the diſtreſſes for leſs than half value, and would then come for more*.

Severe as this act was, yet the perjury of the informers, and prejudice of ſundry juſtices againſt this people, frequently urged them to acts of ſeverity beyond the letter of the law; which excited ſome of the ſufferers to appeal to the quarter ſeſſions, as allowed them by the act; but in a general way they got little by the appeal but additional loſs; the influence of the convicting juſtice, the partiality of the bench, and juries, or the neglect of the juſtices in putting their decrees into due execution, when in favour of the appellant, moſtly left them unredreſſed, or ſuffering under additional grievances.

This people were often informed againſt and illegally fined by a miſconſtruction of the word *Conventicles*, which though limited in the act to meetings for worſhip contrary to the liturgy of the church of England; yet by mercenary informers and partial juſtices was extended to comprize all aſſemblies of any of thoſe people; if they met merely to provide for their poor, the number of whom daily increaſed by the ſeverity of this act and the ſeverer execution thereof; or if they paid a viſit to a friend in ſickneſs; or if they gathered to pay the laſt office of reſpect, in attending the funerals of their deceaſed friends, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to ſwear ſuch meetings

* See Beſſe's Sufferings of the Quakers, for many caſes of oppreſſion and cruelty under this act.

Conventicles

Conventicles, nor juſtices prejudiced againſt them to iſſue warrants to levy fines accordingly. And it is to be obſerved that where the fines impoſed did not exceed 10s. there lay no appeal, although judgment were ever ſo partial, or the diſtreſs ever ſo exorbitant.

In London, the lord mayor, ſitting in a court of aldermen, an informer made his appearance, with ſuch a number of informations as would have wronged the parties informed againſt of 1500l. but the mayor, in abhorrence, adjourned the court. Yet this informer, not ſatisfied to let the matter fall, appeared before the court again and again, and was as often put off, till at laſt he was arreſted for debt, and ended his days in priſon.

George Fox being in London, publiſhed remarks upon the injuſtice of this law: but at the ſame time being apprehenſive of an impending ſtorm, he wrote an epiſtle to his friends, to exhort them to ſteadfaſtneſs in their teſtimony to the truth, and to chriſtian patience, in bearing the ſufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.

Upon the commencement of this act's taking place, in London and ſeveral other places, the meeting-houſes were ſhut up, and a guard placed at the door, and amongſt the reſt at the meeting-houſe at Gracechurch-ſtreet, whereupon the meeting was held in the court. On the next firſt-day, being kept not only out of the meeting-houſe, but alſo out of the court, they aſſembled in the open ſtreet, where G. Fox began to preach, but was preſently pulled down: after him another was ſerved in like manner, and both of them were carried before the lord mayor by a conſtable and informer, attended by a guard of ſoldiers. As they were paſſing along, the informer diſcovered himſelf by the following expreſſion: "It will never be a good world, until all the people come to the good old

religion, that was two hundred years ago:" Upon hearing which George ſaid, "What! a papiſt informer." When they came to the court before the mayor's houſe, ſome of the people aſked G. Fox why he was brought thither? He replied, "Aſk that informer, and aſk him his name." Upon this one of the mayor's officers ſaid, "he ſhould tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor will know by what authority you intrude yourſelf with ſoldiers into the execution of thoſe laws which belong to the civil magiſtrate to execute." The informer, unwilling to abide the examination, ſlipped out of court, and was received by the populace with a cry of, "a papiſt informer! a papiſt informer!" who were like to have handled him roughly, had not G. Fox perſuaded the conſtable and ſoldiers to reſcue him out of their hands. By which means he got into a houſe, changed his periwig, and made his eſcape. The mayor, after ſome diſcourſe with G. Fox and his friend, ſet them both at liberty. In like manner on the ſame day, at Devonſhire-houſe, many friends were by compulſion kept out of their meeting-houſe. But J. Burnyeat and others having aſſembled in the ſtreet, he began to ſpeak, but was quickly pulled down, and carried before the mayor, who fined him 20l. At Weſtminſter ſeveral were grievouſly abuſed, ſome having their clothes taken from them, ſome kept priſoners ſeveral hours, and afterward taken before two juſtices, who fined both men and women.

Various were the meaſures adopted by the magiſtrates to perplex the Quakers, and deter them from keeping up their religious meetings. On the 26th of the month called June, the mayor ſuffered them to aſſemble in the meeting-houſe in Whitehart Court; but when aſſembled, he contrived to procure an epiſcopalian prieſt to go thither and officiate according to their liturgy, and ſent a band of ſoldiers

ſoldiers to guard him in the performance of his office, who accordingly read the common prayer, and preached a ſermon in the gallery, exciting to love and forbearance, from Eph. c. iv. v. 2, 15; but at the ſame time by his conduct did not confirm his doctrine; for the ſoldiers who guarded him were rude and abuſive to ſome, for making obſervations on the inconſiſtency of the meaſures of the church party with his doctrine, and he neither repreſſed nor rebuked their rudeneſs, which they dealt freely to women as well as men.

As the novelty of the tranſaction drew many people together, after the prieſt had ended his ſermon, G. Whitehead ſtood up, and preached on the ſame ſubject, taking occaſion therefrom to demonſtrate the inconſiſtency of perſecution therewith, and with the goſpel of peace. The mixed auditory liſtened with attention, and the meeting continued in an agreeable ſtate of quietude, until two rude fellows with ſoldiers at their heels, laid hands on him, pulled him down, and carried him to the mayor's, keeping him ſome time in his yard. His name and the information againſt him being given to the mayor, he preſently ſent out a warrant to commit him to the compter at the gatehouſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, for making a diſturbance, &c. until he ſhould find ſureties or be delivered by due courſe of law, without examining the caſe, or admitting him to be heard in his own defence.

G. Whitehead ſeeing the warrant, requeſted an audience of the mayor, which being obtained, he informed him, that he apprehended there was a miſtake in the warrant, in charging him with making diſturbance, for that there was no ſuch thing, until the informers and ſoldiers came in; that he made none, but on the contrary quieted the people by ſeaſonable advice. He was ſent to the compter until the evening, and then ſent for to appear before the

mayor again; who, after ſome diſcourſe, ſignified he muſt fine him 40l. for a ſecond offence, as having been, he ſaid, convicted before Sir Joſeph Sheldon before; but it ſeems the fine was never levied.

They purſued the like plan at the ſame meeting-houſe for three or four firſt-days ſucceſſively: (but whatever their view might be in this intruſion of the liturgy within unconſecrated walls) they ſoon grew tired, and returned to the practice of placing guards at the meeting-houſes, and keeping the aſſemblies of this people out in the ſtreets.

Upon the 17th day of the 5th month, O. S. (then July) Friends were kept out of their meeting-houſe at Peele in the ſtreet, by a band of ſoldiers and a conſtable, and two women Friends being concerned to ſpeak a few words of exhortation, the ſoldiers came and violently pulled them away, puſhed down both men and women with their muſkets, and bruiſed ſeveral. Towards the concluſion of the meeting, whilſt G. Whitehead was exerciſed in prayer, the ſoldiers pulled him away into the entry; George then reaſoned with them; remarking how much below the manly ſpirit of ſoldiers they acted in abuſing peaceable men, and women, as they had done. Preſently after they pulled John Scott and Sam. Richardſon into their guard-room, and after three hours, conducted them to an alehouſe near Clerkenwell, where two juſtices, Foſter and Bowles, were. The information againſt G. Whitehead imported, That there were about 300 in the ſtreet, that they took him preaching, ſtanding on a bulk or ſtall.

The information againſt J. Scott was, that they took him preaching, which was, that when they were behaving with rudeneſs and violence he deſired them to "be moderate." Againſt S. Richardſon, that he laid violent hands on one of their muſkets; but this was denied by S. Richardſon, for he was ſtanding peaceably (as he ſaid) with his hands

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in his pockets. They were all committed to Newprison, guarded by a conſtable, and ſoldiers: the next evening they fined G. Whitehead 20l. (but it was not levied) and S. Richardſon five ſhillings, and diſcharged them. But impriſoned J. Scott ſix months on the Oxford act againſt Nonconformiſt preachers, although he was no preacher, nor in any reſpect juſtly liable to be puniſhed by the ſaid act.

The magiſtrates of London next conceived a new plan, to impriſon them, in order to bring them to trial for a riot, and exert their endeavours to get them convicted thereupon. They began with two eminent members of this ſociety, W. Penn and W. Mead, who were taken as W. Penn was preaching in Gracechurch-ſtreet, on the 14th of the month called Auguſt, and both committed to Newgate, from whence they were brought to their trial at the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey the 1ſt, 3d, 4th and 5th of Sept. wherein is exhibited a ſpecimen of the violent exertions of arbitrary power in the magiſtrates; and of intrepid fortitude in defence of the privileges of the people in the priſoners and the jury.

The indictment ſet forth, that W. Penn and W. Mead, with divers other perſons to the number of 300, at Gracechurch-ſtreet in London, on the 15th of Auguſt, with force and arms tumultuouſly aſſembled together, and that W. Penn, by agreement between him and W. Mead, had preached there in the public ſtreet, whereby was cauſed a great concourſe of people. To this indictment they ſeverally pleaded "Not guilty." After which they were detained there five hours, waiting upon the trial of felons, and then returned to Newgate; and two days after were brought before the court again, when the court more openly manifeſted a preconcerted deſign to take every unfair advantage againſt them; for coming into court with their hats on, and the officers having

ing taken them off, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, reproved them ſharply, and ordered them to put them on their heads again. Whereupon the recorder, Howel, fined them forty marks each, for not taking off their hats; which occaſioned W. Penn to remark, that they were in the court with their hats off, (i. e. taken off) and if they have been put on ſince, it is by order of the bench: and therefore, (if any), the bench, not the priſoners, ought to be fined.

The jury being ſworn, and the witneſſes called, depoſed that they ſaw W. Penn ſpeaking to the people aſſembled in a great number in Gracechurch-ſtreet, but they could not hear what he ſaid.

The recorder then aſked W. Mead if he was there? Who replied, It is a maxim in law that no man is bound to accuſe himſelf, why then doſt thou go about to enſnare me? The recorder, in reſentment, returned, Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to enſnare you. Then W. Penn freely declared, we confeſs ourſelves ſo far from declining to vindicate our aſſembling ourſelves to preach, pray, or worſhip, that we believe it to be our duty. Richard Brown alledged, You are not here for worſhipping God, but for breaking the law; you do yourſelves wrong in going on in that diſcourſe. To this W. Penn anſwered, I affirm I have broken no law; nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end the bench, the jury, and myſelf, with theſe that hear us, may have a more direct underſtanding of this procedure, I deſire to know by what law you proſecute, and upon which you ground my indictment? The recorder anſwered, Upon the common law. W. Penn deſired that common law might be produced. The recorder, provoked at his perſiſtance in demanding a ſpecification of the law, which he could not tell where to find, ſuffered his paſſion to tranſport him beyond

beyond the bounds of decency, and treated a man on every account as reſpectable as himſelf with ill language, in this laconic reply to his juſt requiſition: You are a ſaucy fellow, ſpeak to the indictment. But W. Penn inſiſting on his right to have the law produced on which the indictment was founded, and the court evading it, and inſiſting on his pleading to the indictment as it ſtood: at laſt the recorder, loſing all patience, to abuſive language added a plain confeſſion that he did not know where the law was to be found. You are, ſaid he, an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is? It's Lex non ſcripta, that which many have ſtudied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment? *W. Penn.* If the common law be ſo hard to be underſtood, it is far from being common; but if Lord Coke in his Inſtitutes be of any authority, he tells us, that common law is common right, and that common right is the great charter privileges. *Recorder.* You are a troubleſome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to ſuffer you to go on. *W. Penn.* I deſign no affront to the court, but to be heard in my juſt plea; and I muſt plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you ſuggeſt I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence your reſolution to ſacrifice the privileges of Engliſhmen to your arbitrary deſigns. This exaſperated the recorder to that degree, that he called to the officers to take him away. And addreſſing himſelf to the mayor, ſaid, my lord, if you do not take ſome courſe with this peſtilent fellow to ſtop his mouth, we ſhall not be able to do any thing to-night. Upon which the mayor ordered him to be haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going away, he made the following addreſs to the jury: This I leave upon your conſciences, who are my jury, and my ſole judges, that

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if theſe ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular perſuaſions in matters of religion, muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained and obſerved, who can ſay he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties are to be openly invaded, our wives to be raviſhed, our children enſlaved, our families ruined, and our eſtates led away in triumph by every ſturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeitures for conſcience-ſake.

W. Mead, being left alone at the bar, alſo addreſſed the jury in the following ſpeech: "Ye men of the jury, I now ſtand here to anſwer to an indictment againſt me, which is a bundle of ſtuff, full of lies and falſehoods; for therein I am accuſed that I met with force and arms unlawfully and tumultuouſly. Time was when I had freedom to uſe a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make uſe thereof, nor hurt any man; nor do I know that I demeaned myſelf as a tumultuous perſon. Therefore it is a very proper queſtion that W. Penn demanded, an oyer of the law on which our indictment is grounded. If the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, &c. Coke tells us, a riot is, when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut his graſs, his wood, or break down his pales." The recorder, pulling off his hat in a contemptuous manner, ſaid, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the law is. W. Mead replied, Thou mayſt put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now. The lord mayor ſaying, you deſerve to have your tongue cut out; and the recorder threatening to take occaſion againſt him, he pleading his privilege as an Engliſhman, the recorder rejoined, I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws

laws of England, nor are you worthy of ſuch privileges as others have. Then he was likewiſe ordered into the bail-dock.

When the priſoners were gone, the recorder proceeded to give the jury their charge; which W. Penn obſerving, remonſtrated againſt as an irregular proceeding, raiſing himſelf up by the rails of the bail-dock, that he might be heard, with a loud voice ſpoke thus: "I appeal to the jury, and this great aſſembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Engliſhman to give the jury their charge in the abſence of the priſoners." The recorder anſwered ſneeringly, ye are preſent, ye do hear, do you not? *W. Penn.* No thanks to the court that ordered me into the bail-dock: and you of the jury take notice that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court before I have been fully heard, having at leaſt ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment. This ſpeech being very unpalatable to the court, the recorder cried out, Pull that fellow down, pull him down. W. Mead thereupon exclaimed againſt their proceedings as barbarous and unjuſt; upon which, by order of the recorder, they were thruſt into a ſtinking hole and detained there, while the jury went up to agree upon their verdict; and after ſtaying about an hour and an half, eight came down agreed; but four being diſſatisfied remained above. The bench, provoked at theſe jurymen, who obſtructed their deſigns, threatened them with the like domineering incivility as they had the priſoners before, particularly Edw. Buſhel, whom they charged with being the cauſe of this diſagreement, and an abettor of faction. After much abuſive treatment, they ſent them to conſider of bringing in their verdict, which after ſome time they agreed to bring W. Penn guilty of ſpeaking in Gracechurch-ſtreet.

This the court refuſed to accept as a verdict: And ſtrove unfairly to extort expreſſions from ſome of them, to procure a verdict more to their purpoſe, as that he was ſpeaking to an unlawful aſſembly; but Buſhel, Hammond, and ſome others refuſed to admit any alteration in their verdict; at which the recorder, mayor, and others took occaſion to abuſe them, and forced them up again to bring in a verdict they would accept. Upon their return they produced their verdict in writing, ſigned by them all, finding W. Penn guilty of ſpeaking or preaching to an aſſembly met together in Gracechurch-ſtreet, the 14th of Auguſt, 1670, and that W. Mead is not guilty of the ſaid indictment.

This the mayor and recorder reſented ſo highly, that they exceeded the bounds of moderation, which drew the following remonſtrance from W. Penn.

"My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict ſhould be free, and not compelled. The bench ought to wait upon them, but not foreſtal them. I do deſire that juſtice may be done me, and that the arbitrary reſolves of the bench may not be made the meaſure of my jury's verdict." This poignant vindication of his right exaſperated the recorder to the following illiberal exclamation: "Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court." And the mayor telling the jury, "That he had gathered a company of tumultuous people." W. Penn, in explanation, replied, It is a miſtake, we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us; the jury cannot be ſo ignorant as to think that we met with any deſign to diſturb the civil peace. We were with force of arms kept out of our lawful houſe, and met as near it in the ſtreet as the ſoldiers would give us leave. It is no new thing, nor with the circumſtances expreſſed in the indictment, but what was uſual with us: 'Tis very well known that

that we are a "peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man." He inſiſted that the agreement of twelve men is a verdict; required the clerk of the peace to record it; and addreſſing himſelf to the jury, ſaid, "You are Engliſhmen, mind your privileges; give not away your right." To which ſome of them replied, "Nor will we ever do it."

The priſoners were now ſent back to jail, and the jury to their chamber, where they were ſhut up all night without victuals, fire, or any accommodation, the recorder declaring he would have a verdict, or they ſhould ſtarve for it.

The next morning they brought in the ſame verdict; and neither the paſſionate reſentments, the opprobrious reflections, nor the repeated menaces of the bench, could prevail upon them to alter it. The recorder's paſſion got the better of his prudence ſo far as to extort ſentiments, which policy would conceal. "Till now, I never underſtood the reaſon of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in ſuffering the inquiſition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till ſomething like the Spaniſh inquiſition be in England." You will find next ſeſſions of parliament there will be a law made, that thoſe who will not conform ſhall not have the protection of the law. The jury, after repeated menaces, were forced up again, and ſpent a ſecond night without accommodation as before; no regard being paid to their remonſtrances, that they had all agreed, and in confirmation thereof had ſet their hands to the verdict. Next morning the priſoners being brought to the bar, and the jury called upon to bring in their verdict, returned both the priſoners "not guilty;" for which they were fined forty marks a man, and ordered to be impriſoned till the fines were paid; but ſome time after were diſcharged by *habeas corpus* returnable

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in the Common-pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. The priſoners, upon being cleared by the jury, demanded their liberty; but they were remanded to priſon for their fines for not taking off their hats, to which they excepted, as being arbitrarily impoſed, in violation of the great Charter, which ſaith, "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicenage." Thus ended this memorable trial, wherein a noble ſtand was made againſt the illegal proceedings of deſpotic magiſtrates in dangerous times, when reaſon, law, and equity, were equally diſregarded.

At the ſame ſeſſions thirteen more of this people having been ſent to priſon, partly from Grace-church Street, and partly from the meeting near Biſhopſgate, (amongſt whom was Thomas Rudyard, a man ſkilled in the law, and a ſtrenuous vindicator of the liberties of the people,) were brought to trial upon like indictments, for meeting in a riotous manner. The ſame jury, who acquitted Penn and Mead, had been alſo ſworn in court to try theſe other Quakers; but were incapacitated by that extraordinary proceeding of the court in fining and impriſoning them.

Their treatment was as overbearing from the recorder and the reſt, as that of Penn and Mead had been: they were uſed juſt in the ſame manner, and fined for not taking off their hats, which had been taken off by the officers, and put on their heads again by order of the court. A ſecond jury was packed to try them, againſt which they proteſted, deſiring to be informed by what law or precedent two juries could be ſworn to try one and the ſame fact? received for anſwer, "The court overrules you." They yet urging that the law ought to be the rule of courts of juſtice, and that arbitrary anſwers were not ſufficient to ſatisfy their reaſonable demands,

demands, the recorder, greatly enraged, told one of the priſoners he ſhould be gagged, and deſerved to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. They objected to ſeveral of this ſecond jury; but their lawful challenges were rejected by the bench, for no better reaſon than that "the court over-ruled them*."

Ezekiel Archer and Margery Fann, who having been indicted as rioters the ſeſſions before, and the evidence being inſufficient to convict them, were detained in priſon on an indictment for felony; but this attempt againſt them was ſo manifeſtly unjuſt, that even this jury brought them in "not guilty;" and yet Archer was fined and impriſoned with the reſt.

At the cloſe of the ſeſſions theſe priſoners were called down to the ſeſſions houſe, as they expected, to receive judgment, and had accordingly prepared exceptions in arreſt of judgment; but they were precluded from the opportunity of making their defence; the bench paſſing ſentence without any of them hearing it.

It appeared by the Newgate book that this clandeſtine ſentence condemned them in ſundry fines, ſome forty marks, ſome twenty; and as a ſpecial mark of their "vindictive diſpoſition" towards Thomas Rudyard, he was fined 100l. and all to be committed to priſon, until they ſhould pay their reſpective fines.

Newgate was ſo full that there could not be convenient room for this additional number; the court ordered theſe Friends to be impriſoned in a ſpunging

* An account of both theſe trials was publiſhed ſoon after, the firſt by William Penn, under the title of "The People's ancient and juſt Liberties aſſerted." To which is added, an appendix, exhibiting at large the invalidity of the evidence, &c. *See Penn's Works.*

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houſe* adjoining to Newgate; and a keeper was appointed to prevent their going out on any occaſion.

When or by what means they were releaſed, I find no particular account; but William Penn's impriſonment at this time was of no long continuance; for it appears he was at liberty at the time of his father's deceaſe, which happened the 16th of the ſame month; viz. September, 1670. His father was at this time perfectly reconciled to him, and left him both his paternal bleſſing, and a plentiful eſtate; and ſeems to have conceived a favourable opinion of Friends, as appears by his death-bed expreſſions, recorded in "No Croſs no Crown."

Having traced the arbitrary proceedings of this ſeſſion, and the conſequent tranſactions thus far, we are to view meaſures ſtill more violent.

At Horſlydown, in the borough of Southwark, from the very beginning of the perſecution under this laſt act, the members of this meeting were not only proſecuted in heavy fines annd diſtraints, but perſonally abuſed by ſoldiers, who were appointed to keep them out of their meeting-houſe: and the repeated abuſes they received not deterring them from keeping up their religious meetings, in the month called July, an order was iſſued by the King and Council for demoliſhing the ſaid meeting-houſe.

The execution of this order was not committed to the civil power, but put into the hands of the military. The troopers came twice to the meeting there, after the affixing up of the order to diſperſe the aſſembly. A ſergeant plucked them out of the meeting-houſe, and when forced out, the troopers

* The maſter of that houſe, and a priſoner there, had lately died of the ſpotted fever: this circumſtance the court was apprized of; but all the priſoners were preſerved in health.

rode

rode amongſt them to diſperſe them, and wounded ſeveral of them. The third time, on the 20th of Auguſt, ſo called, being the ſeventh day of the week, a party of ſoldiers with carpenters and others came and pulled down the meeting-houſe, carried away the boards, windows, and benches, and ſold them. On the next day the Friends came as uſual, and met upon the rubbiſh, but the ſoldiers came and dragged them into the ſtreet. On the 28th a captain ordered his ſoldiers to knock their brains out; they pulled and haled them from the place, and having kept them until near ſunſet, carried them to the Marſhalſea priſon, and lodged them there without any warrant from a civil magiſtrate.

The dragooning of this meeting was continued weekly for the greateſt part of three months, with increaſing aggravation; the foot ſoldiers beat and abuſed both men and women with their muſkets and pikes. After the foot had perpetrated their abuſe, a party of horſe came on furiouſly, and endeavoured to ride over them; but the horſes (leſs ſavage than their riders) being unwilling to go forward, they turned them about, and endeavoured to force them backward, and in that manner do what miſchief they could.

Finding this people, though thus abuſed, not deterred from keeping up their religious aſſemblies, theſe military executors of illegal puniſhment changed their method of attack; one of them having provided himſelf with a ſhovel, threw the dirt out of the channels upon men and women promiſcuouſly, in a ſhameful manner; after him advanced horſe and foot in a furious onſet upon a harmleſs unreſiſting body of people, ſtriking and knocking down all before them, without regard to age or ſex, to the ſhedding of the blood of many. When ſome of the inhabitants in compaſſion took them into their houſes to ſave their lives, the ſoldiers forced

open

open the doors, haled them out into the ſtreets, and plucked off their hats, to ſtrike on their bare heads, whereby many went away with heads grievouſly broken; they tore both men and women's clothes off their backs, dragged them through the mire by the horſes ſides, and uſed modeſt women with brutiſh indecency of action and expreſſion. One woman with child was ſtruck on the belly and breaſt, in conſequence whereof ſhe miſcarried. A man Friend was dragged, after being ſeverely beaten, into the ruins of the meeting-houſe by one of thoſe cruel men, who demanded his money, and endeavoured to rifle his pockets, threatening with execrations, that he would ſtab and piſtol him, if he would not deliver it.

At one of theſe aſſaults above twenty perſons were wounded; at the ſucceeding one upwards of thirty; and at this laſt the number of wounded and bruiſed exceeded fifty. At length theſe violations of the peace of the city rouſed the civil officers to interpoſe their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body againſt the armed men let looſe upon them. The ſucceeding firſt day, the 16th of October, being again met, and kept out of their meeting-place, there came again a party of horſe and foot, prepared to fall upon them; but a party of conſtables being there before them, to preſerve the peace, kept them at bay for a ſhort time; but they quickly broke over the barriers of civil reſtraint, and fell upon the defenceleſs people with their accuſtomed inhumanity. Many of them had their blood ſpilled plentifully about their ears and faces, and one of the conſtables interpoſing in endeavours to prevent the ſhedding of blood, and to keep the peace, was a ſharer with them in this indiſcriminate abuſe. Being reprehended for their cruelty, ſome of them anſwered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would ſay we dealt mercifully with you."

A nar-

A narrative of the proceedings of the ſoldiers towards this people was preſented to the King and Council, which produced the ceſſation of theſe cruelties for a ſeaſon, though they were not altogether diſcontinued.

There was another meeting-houſe belonging to this ſociety at Ratcliff, which ſoon after was ſubjected to the like violence with that of Horſlydown: Sir John Robinſon, lieutenant of the Tower, without any legal proceſs or lawful cauſe, on the 2d of September, came thither attended by Captain Taylor, and a party of ſoldiers belonging to the King's regiment, and cauſed the meeting-houſe to be pulled down. That day and the night following twelve cartloads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were ſold on the ſpot for money and ſtrong drink.

When their meeting-houſe was pulled down, Friends of Ratcliff met on the ruins, or as near them as they would be permitted, being generally kept off by conſtables or other officers, who moſtly either took ſome of them priſoners, or by information procured them to be fined on the conventicle act.

Robinſon intended to have proceeded next to pull down the meeting-houſe at Wheeler Street; but Gilbert Latey, in whom the title was veſted, and who was then in the weſt of England, upon intelligence thereof, returned to London, ordered a poor friend to be put into the meeting-houſe, and made a leaſe to him.

After this, Friends taking the ſame care, have generally preſerved their meeting-houſes.

William Penn, during the ſhort interval of liberty he enjoyed this winter, publiſhed a book, he intitled, "A ſeaſonable Caveat againſt Popery," wherein he expoſes and confutes many erroneous doctrines

of

of the church of Rome, and eſtabliſhed the oppoſite truths by ſound arguments: a work alone ſufficient on one hand to wipe off the calumny caſt upon him of being a favourer of the Romiſh religion; and on the other to manifeſt that his principle for liberty of conſcience was univerſal, as he wiſhed it to be extended even to the papiſts, under the ſecurity of their not perſecuting others.

But he was not ſuffered to enjoy his liberty long; Sir John Robinſon, having ſucceeded Brown as lord mayor, who had all along ſhewn an equal averſion to diſſenters, and Quakers particularly, was one of the bench of juſtices on the trial of Penn, Mead, and the reſt at the Old Bailey. This man, actuated by perſonal pique againſt William Penn, had been ſome time watching the meetings to take him, and at laſt, on the 5th of the 12th month, (February,) having information of his being to be at Wheeler Street, ſent a ſergeant and ſoldiers, who planted themſelves at the door, and waited there until he ſtood up and preached; and then the ſergeant pulled him down and led him into the ſtreet, where a conſtable and aſſiſtants ſtanding ready to join, they carried him away to the Tower; a guard was there clapt upon him, and a meſſenger diſpatched to the lieutenant, then at Whitehall, to inform him of the ſucceſs. After keeping him upon guard near three hours, he came home, and ſent for William Penn from the guard, by an officer with a file of muſketeers. There were ſeveral other magiſtrates of the ſame caſt preſent; namely, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Sheldon, Lieutenant Colonel Rycraft, and others. Orders being given that no perſon unconcerned in the buſineſs ſhould be admitted up, they proceeded to the examination, and committed him to Newgate for ſix months, upon an act which had no relation to him, but fixed on as inflicting the ſevereſt puniſhment; the remembrance of the trial

at the Old Bailey, and the publication of their arbitrary exertion of power againſt law, operating more powerfully on his paſſions to avenge himſelf of him, than the remembrance of his father's friendſhip, (who had been very kind to Robinſon,) to requite it with acts of kindneſs to the ſon. Upon Robinſon's ſignifying he muſt ſend him to Newgate for ſix months, and when they are expired, that then he might come out, William Penn replied, "Is that all? thou well knoweſt a larger impriſonment hath not daunted me: I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to ſuffer his will. Thy religion *perſecutes*, and mine *forgives*: I deſire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wiſhing your everlaſting ſalvation."

In priſon, he employed the time of his confinement in writing, "The great Cauſe of Liberty of Conſcience briefly debated and defended," with ſeveral other occaſional pieces.

After ſome time the heat of this perſecution abated in the city; but in ſome other parts it was carried on with unrelaxed violence, which occaſioned George Fox to leave the city, and viſit his perſecuted friends in the country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, and encourage them to ſteadfaſtneſs in their religious duties.

In this journey he fell ill of a diſtemper which deprived him of ſight and hearing, and ſeemed to threaten his diſſolution; but after ſome time he recovered gradually; and though perſecution was ſo hot in divers places, and in ſome there was much threatening, with attempts to break up the meetings, yet he eſcaped unmoleſted, and having finiſhed his ſervice, returned to London; and though ſtill weak in body, he was diligently exerciſed in his miniſterial labours.

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Having ſoon after his marriage received information of his wife's being impriſoned, (as before-noticed,) he incited her daughters, who were in London, to apply to the King: they were ſo ſucceſsful, as to procure his order to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire for her diſcharge, which he hoped would be obeyed. But upon this freſh ſtorm of perſecution breaking out, her enemies (he underſtood) had found means to detain her ſtill in priſon: wherefore he renewed his endeavours for her releaſe, and by the aſſiſtance of others, obtained from the King a diſcharge under the great ſeal, to clear both herſelf and her eſtate, after ſhe had been ten years a priſoner, under an unjuſt ſentence of premunire. This mandate he ſent down immediately, whereby her liberty was obtained.

The heat of perſecution beginning to cool, he felt a draught of duty inclining him to pay a religious viſit to Friends in America; and apprizing his wife by letter of his intention, deſired her to come up to London, which ſhe did accordingly: and having taken leave of her, he ſet ſail the latter part of the ſummer for America, in company with ſeveral other Friends, and after a paſſage of ſomething more than ſeven weeks, landed at Barbadoes.

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